

A

HISTORY OF THE TURKS,

FROM THE

EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY

JOHN MCGILCHRIST,

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS.

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P R E F A C E.

SINCE the commencement of the WAR with Russia, general attention has been directed to Turkey. This short History is designed to minister, in its own place, to the curiosity about Turkey and the Turks which has been excited since the Russian aggression and the Western interference. The design has been to give compendious information on the leading events which have characterized the History of the Turkish race, especially those by which they have been connected with the nations of Christian Europe, —and at the same time, to attempt to produce a readable book. Nor does Turkish history want ample elements of interest and instruction, altogether apart from the factitious circumstances which have recently turned the eyes of the world upon the Turks. In few histories can there be so easily marked the ascent to power and splendour, and the subsequent decline. In few histories are the concurrent causes which have effected the ascent and produced the fall, so

simple and apparent. Nor are elements of romance and poetry wanting in the annals which chronicle the reigns of Bajazet, Mahomet the captor of Constantinople, Solyman the Great, and Abdul Medjid,—which narrate the sieges of Malta, Vienna, and Kars, the battles of Angora, Lepanto, and Balaklava.

In the latter portion of the work I have studied to render specially apparent and prominent the rise and course of Russian aggression, at once as being the most important influence affecting the condition and fortunes of Turkey for the last century, and as working out its grand consummation and its great reaction in the events of the last two years.

LONDON, 1856.

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HISTORY OF THE TURKS.

CHAPTER I.

THE Eastern and Western empires decayed together and together approached dissolution. But in many respects the circumstances which produced and accompanied their fall were different and contrasted. The destruction of the Western empire was, comparatively speaking, instantaneous and ultimate. Although it was not for many centuries that the races which overthrew the Roman empire righted themselves, and adjusted their position within those territorial limits which now define them ; although it was long before society, under Teutonic and Gothic rule, began to be consolidated and fused ; yet there was not in the West, as there was in the East, a periodically recurring complete revolution, a fresh inroad and encroachment by barbarism upon civilization, antedating by centuries, at each epoch of change, the history and progress of the human race.

2—Upon the ruins of the empire of the West

were reared such transient states as the Republic of Rome, the Exarchate of Ravenna, the Celtic and somewhat mythical kingdoms of Armorica and Cornwall, and the Vandal kingdom of Africa; the more lasting dominions of the Moors, successively at Cordova and Granada, in Spain, of the Normans in northern France and Sicily, and of the Angles in England; and the still more enduring rules of the royal family of Castile in Spain, of the House of Hapsburg in Germany, and of the Episcopate of Rome in Central Italy. The civil history of Asia presents a direct contrast to the gradual consolidation of society, the slow formation of national characters, and the distinct demarcation between different peoples, which have gone on in Europe.

The Eastern empire, whose seat and centre was Constantinople, continued to exist for many centuries after the subversion of the Western by the Lombards. But encroachments were gradually made upon its frontiers. The tribes towards which they lay gradually re-took the territories of which they had been dispossessed by the victorious legions of the earlier empire. At its northern boundary, Dacians, Cimmerians, and Abari made fast inroads. Upon the extreme East the Persian power, which had experienced a wondrous revival of vigour, regained large districts, and seemed destined again to stretch its conquering grasp over

the ancient territories of the Hellas-hated Xerxes, —dominions washed by the Red, Mediterranean, Black, and Arabian Seas.

In the sixth century there appeared in the East a power destined ultimately to overthrow at once Byzantine civilization and Persian splendour, to subjugate the Parsee fire-worshipper and the Greek Monophysite, the nomade Sabæan adorer of the heavenly hosts, and the pastoral Nestorian of Kurdistan,—a power destined in its first tide of victory to stretch its conquering arms from the Euphrates to the Pyrenees, from the Red to the Black Sea. The wandering races of Arabia had never played an important part in the history of the world. Safe, amid their rocky fastnesses and sterile plains, they had never tempted, except on their outlying frontiers, the attack of the conquerors who, all around them, had in successive ages filled the world with blood. They had possessed no national unity, no concentration of strength, no consolidation of resources. They had avoided the avocations of civilized life, had never engaged in agriculture, the practice of handicrafts, or in trade, but remained shepherds and hunters. These self-chosen avocations, along with the natural peculiarities of their countries, had necessitated a never-ceasing nomadic life, a constant dwelling in tents. To this race, apparently destined never to emerge from

this condition into any of the successive grades of civilization, unity and concentration were first given by Mahomet and the Mahometan religion. What had been a group of tribes became a nation.

In his own lifetime, Mahomet conquered and converted to his faith the whole Arabian peninsula. He wisely declined to meet the army of the Eastern empire, which had been long at war with the Persians in Mesopotamia and Armenia, Abu-Bekr was Mahomet's successor in the Caliphate, or supreme power, civil and religious. His general Khaled, whom the Arabian chroniclers designate the "Sword of God," in a very short space after Mahomet's death, completely subdued the army of the Persian emperor, and gained his empire for his master. In the same reign Syria was taken from the Emperor Heraclius. Ecbatana and Damascus were now Mahometan towns as well as Mecca and Medina. Under Omar, the third Caliph, Amrou, his principal general, overran Egypt. In less than eighty years from the death of Mahomet, the Arabs had conquered as far as the Pyrenees, while they spread in Asia eastward and northward. The Arab power fell as quickly and as suddenly as it had risen. Spain, Egypt, and Africa were wrested from the royal family of the Ommiades, and were established as independent Caliphates. Bagdad ultimately became the capital of the empire of the Caliphs. Here, as

later in the Moorish kingdom in Spain, letters, science, and art, which had been banished the Christian world, rested. Haroon-al-Rasheed, the fifth of the Abassidæ, the contemporary and correspondent of Charlemagne, and the hero of the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, was the Augustus of the Arab sway. Almost equally distinguished was his successor by one remove, Al-Mamoon. All the while the rule of the Arabs was fast sinking. Domestic feuds, and the encroachments of the barbarous tribes on its northern frontiers, equally contributed to the decay of the empire. The immediate and principal agents in its destruction were the Turcomans or Turks, who had left their original hunting-grounds in Tartary, and, after many migrations, had settled in Asia Minor.

The Ottoman Turks have a tradition that they are descended from Turk, the son of Japhet. Turk is a generic name, applied properly to a great family of nations, but used by us in a more limited acceptance. In its widest sense it is synonymous with Tartar, both being designations applied to the great family of nations which from remote antiquity have inhabited North-Western Asia and the adjacent portions of Europe. Some have assigned the Turkish tribes to different stocks. Knolles begins his history of the Turks, published in 1610, as follows: "The glorious

empire of the Turks, the present terrour of the world, hath amongst other things nothing in it more wonderful or strange than the poor beginning of itselfe, so small and obscure as that it is not well knowne unto themselves, or agreed upon even among the best writers of their histories, from whence this barbarous nation, that now so triumpheth over the best part of the world, first crept out or took their beginning. Some (after the manner of most nations) derive them from the Trojans, led thereunto by the affinity of the words Turci and Teuceri; supposing (but with what probability I know not) the word Turci, or Turkes, to have been made of the corruption of the word Teuceri, the common name of the Trojans." Still more absurd hypotheses of the origin of the Turks have been enunciated. Philip de Mornay, Leunclavius and Munster derive them from the Ten Tribes. A plea has by some been raised for their recognition as members of the Caucasian division of the Indo-Germanic family. That the stock from which they sprung was Tartar cannot be denied. But by constant intermixture with Indo-Germanic peoples the Turks have gradually become assimilated to the Caucasian ethnological type. While the Ottoman Turks, and the Tartars of Kasan, Astrakhan, and the Crimea, have more or less a Caucasian resemblance, accounted for by intermarriage with

the contiguous Caucasian races, the Kirghis, Nogais, and Turcomans, whose settlements are further eastward, who are the admitted congeners of the Turks, but who, by their position, have had no opportunity of intermixture with European or juxta-European peoples, preserve unmodified the Tartar characteristics. While the Ottoman Turks, therefore, are by original stock and ancestry Tartar, they probably, as the result of constant intermarriage, contain the European or Caucasian element in much larger degree than the purely Turkish or Asiatic. This will be apparent when the fact is adverted to, that, up to the present day, a constant admixture of Caucasian blood, and that too of the purest type, from the family of tribes which is recognised as the representative of the Caucasian races, has been continued in Turkey, by the importation of female slaves from Georgia and Circassia, from the regions contiguous to *Mount Caucasus*.

The Turkish tribes originally dwelt in the extreme north-west of Asia, further and further from which they gradually migrated, till they appeared in the great basin of nations, and theatre of mundane history,—Central and Western Asia. From classic writers we learn that the Turks, in the time of Oghuz Khan, about one hundred and forty years before Christ, drove the Cimmerians from the country contiguous to

the Palus Macotis, or Sea of Azov, into Upper Asia.

Pomponius Mela, in enumerating the tribes who inhabited the Crimea and the contiguous continent, says, "The Geloni inhabit a city of wood. Next to them the Thyrsagetæ and Turks (*Turcæ*) occupy vast forests, and are supported by hunting." Pliny, in his description of the races surrounding the Sea of Azov, mentions among Cimmerii, Costobocci, &c., a tribe whom he calls Turci; and in his description of Sarmatia Asiatica he specifies Tusci, who were probably another branch of the same race.

In the year of our Lord 545, Bertezena established in Tartary an empire of Turks, or Tartars. Although the empire was soon broken up and divided, the great Tartar family of nations seem from this date more especially to have received that impetus and concentration of strength which poured them in successive waves over the whole of Asia, from the steppes of Tartary to the Chinese seas and Cape Comorin. One wave overran China, which remained for two hundred years under Tartar sway. A more important conquest was that of the White Huns, who possessed Bokhara and Samarcand. The ~~Turks~~ were thus brought a long way nearer to those countries within the temperate and torrid zones, which they were ultimately to overrun.

The Turkish races kept advancing towards the central and western parts of Asia till they arrived at Mount Caucasus, where they first heard of the splendours of the empire at Constantinople. They sent in 558 an ambassador to the Emperor Justinian, seeking his alliance and favour. He concluded a treaty with them, by which they engaged to rout the Abari and protect the frontiers of the empire from their inroads. They also defended the empire on its eastern frontier from the Persians, whose armies they defeated on the Oxus. They had just begun to enjoy the fruits of their successes, and were becoming formidable to the Eastern empire, when, in the reign of the Caliph Waled, eighty years after Mahomet, and in A.D. 764, their territories were overrun by the Arabs, and they were compelled to embrace the Mahometan faith. The force of this early wave of Turkish conquest was thus early spent. Successive migrations into Central Asia continued to be made. In the tenth century they invaded and made themselves masters of large tracts of Russia. Other branches had by the same time extended as far as Persia. From Turkistan they met the armies of the Caliphate, now fast declining. "With Motassem, the eighth of the Abassidæ," says Gibbon, "the glory of his family and nation expired." The Emperor Justinian had employed the first Turkish immigrants into Central Asia

against the Abari and Persians. Motassem adopted a similar policy. Convinced of the enervation and effeminacy of the soldiers of his own nation, he introduced large numbers of Turks as his body-guards, believing that thereby he best defended himself against conspiracy at home and encroachment on his fast contracting frontier. The event soon convinced him of the short-sightedness of his policy. He alone introduced fifty thousand Turkish mercenaries. They soon became what the Prætorian cohort was at Rome, and what, more recently, the Janizaries have been at Constantinople, and the Mamelukes in Egypt. In a very short time the Caliphs of the race of Abbas were rulers only in name. The barbarian guards assumed all the functions of government. The Turkish power rose upon the ruins of the Arab. As the Arab empire had diminished, the Turkish races had encroached; what the Arabs had lost the Turks had gained. And now the whole of the Arab empire in Asia was under Turkish rule.

About the year 1100 after Christ the Samanian, or Gaznevide, dynasty of Turks ruled over most of the territories of which the Turkish tribes had dispossessed the Arabs. The seat of this empire was in the east of Persia. The Sultan Mahmoud made himself famous by his war with the Gentoos of India. He conquered Delhi, Moulton, and Lahore, and was stopped in his

career of victory only by the Ganges. But he, as well as the Caliph, was dispossessed of his dominions by the Seljukian Turks.

The Seljukian dynasty was founded by Seljuk, a Turk of the tribe of Kasan. His grandson, Togrul Beg, made Rhages in Media his capital. Under his successors, Alp-Arslan and Jelal-eddeen, the dominions of the Seljukian dynasty were greatly extended. After the death of Malek Shah the Seljukian empire was divided into four kingdoms; the original one possessed by the Samanians in Persia, the kingdoms of Kerman, or Caramania, of Syria, and of Roum. The kingdoms of Kerman and Syria ultimately merged into that of Roum; this kingdom was nearly co-extensive with the Asia Minor of the ancients, or the Anadol, or Anatolia, of modern times. It was called *Roum* in allusion to its being formerly a part of the Roman empire of the East. It had Nice for its capital. While on its Asiatic side the empire of Roum gradually absorbed Caramania and Syria, it was a no less formidable rival to its western neighbour, the Byzantine empire. Asia Minor had been frequently overrun by the Arabs. They had twice even penetrated as far as Constantinople, which had been besieged by them in 668 and 716. But Asia Minor, the only remaining Asiatic part of the Roman empire, had never been permanently

occupied till by the Seljukian Turks. Upon the capture of Nice, which became the Turkish capital, the Emperor Alexander Comnenus was forced to acknowledge Solyman the master of Asia Minor. Alexis began to tremble for Constantinople and for his European dominions, and raised an immense army of Macedonians, Bulgarians, and Moldavians. He solicited the aid of the Crusaders. By the aid of these French and Norman knights, headed by Ursel of Baliol, whom Gibbon calls "the kinsman, or father, of the Scottish kings," the Turks were entirely defeated at the battle of Trebisonde, Nice and the western portions of Asia Minor were regained. Iconium now became the capital of the Turkish empire.

But the dynasty of the Seljukians was destined to fall before another irruption of barbarians from those northern regions which have ever been the great nursing mother of conquering tribes. The Carismians had migrated from the shores of the Caspian, had conquered the restored Turkish kingdom of Persia, and had established their dominion on the Persian Gulf and the banks of the Euphrates. It was before a still more terrible horde that the Seljukian dynasty was to fall. The irruption of the Mongols under Jenghiz Khan, was more terrible than had ever been any invasion of civilization, by Lombards or Vandals in Europe, by Arabs or Turks in Asia. Among

other states in Asia totally subverted by Mongol invasion, was the Seljukian empire of Roum or Iconium.

The Mongols did not stay to occupy permanently the conquests which they made in Lesser Asia. They pressed on to the still more inviting plains and regal treasuries of the South. On the subversion of the Seljukian dynasty many of the Turkish tribes or clans took refuge in the mountains, and there lived in independence, and under the rule of no sovereign. One of these was the tribe of the Oghuzians which had only recently settled in Asia Minor.

The Oghuzian Turks, under the leadership of their prince Solyman Shah, had left their hunting-grounds in Khorassan, and after settling for some time in Armenia, continued their migrations still further westward. Solyman having been accidentally drowned in the Euphrates, a portion of the tribe chose for their leader his son Ertoghrul, who led his followers, numbering four hundred and forty-four horsemen, towards the Seljukian kingdom of Iconium, the remnant of the empire of Roum. In his course he met accidentally the forces of the Sultan Ala-ed-deen, sinking before a host of Mongols. Joining his forces to those of the Sultan, he changed the fortunes of the day and routed the Mongols. In acknowledgment of this service he received from

Ala-ed-deen the principality of Sultan Oeni or Sultan's Front, situated on the western boundary of the Iconian empire, and bordering the Constantinopolitan province of Bithynia, which had been regained by the Crusaders for the Greek emperor. Here Ertoghrul settled as the vassal of Ala-ed-deen and the warden of his western marches.

The territory awarded to him and his tribe embraced both fertile and well-watered plains on the river Sakaria, and pasture grounds on the Ermeni Mountains. His followers were augmented by the adhesion of other immigrations of pastoral Turkish families from the East, and by the voluntary subjection of themselves to him by many of the previous Turkish inhabitants of the district. The Seljukian dynasty was already fast nearing its fall. Ertoghrul became the general of Ala-ed-deen's army. He had frequent opportunities of proving his own prowess and of maintaining the warlike training of his followers, against the Greeks and Mongols, who assailed Ala-ed-deen on either frontier, and who in some instances acted against the Turks by concerted arrangements. At the battle of Brusa, Ertoghrul defeated a combined army of the two races. As a reward for this decisive and important victory the Sultan conferred upon him the territory of Eskischeer, in which the battle had been gained.

Ertoghrul now possessed, in addition to the fertile valleys and well-watered plains which pastured the flocks of his tribe, the cities of Eskischeer (the ancient Dorylæum), Lefke, and Laguta, besides the castles of Karajahissar, Biledjik, and Inaeni. Ertoghrul, fast as his power grew, and large as was the territory which he acquired as the reward of his warlike deeds, never acted but as the vassal of the Seljukian Sultan. He died in 1288, and the tribe chose as his successor Othman, or Osman. From him his nation have acquired the name of Ottomans. Abdul Medjid, the present Sultan of Turkey, is his lineal descendant. When Othman succeeded to the government of his tribe and territory he was twenty-four years of age. The Turkish historians celebrate the beauty of his person, and the strength and length of his arm. He was an unrivalled horseman; and he acquired the epithet of Kara, or Black, from the jet black colour of his hair and beard. While courageous and energetic, he was politic and wary. Like all great conquerors he had an extraordinary intuitive knowledge of the characters of men, and was thus enabled to make wise and fortunate selections of the instruments he employed to effect his designs, and enjoyed the thorough confidence of all his followers.

Under Othman the territories of his tribe fast

of neighbouring Turkish tribes, but especially from the Greek empire. He soon became master of nearly all of the ancient Phrygia. From 1291 till 1298 he was at peace. In this period he devoted himself to the internal government of his dominions, no less strenuously than he had before done to the conquest of rival powers and the forcible acquisition of territory. He became famous for the toleration which he exercised towards his Christian subjects, guaranteeing the safety of their persons and the protection of their property. About A.D. 1300 he first caused money to be coined with the impression of his likeness, and the public prayers to be said in his name. These, among eastern nations, are regarded as the peculiar prerogatives and characteristic marks of royalty. But it was not until six years after, upon the death of Ala-ed-deen, the Seljukian Sultan, that Othman declared himself independent. He did not even then assume the full title of sultan or emperor. He and his two next successors reigned only as emirs, or governors.

After several years of peace, Othman, having in the interval greatly augmented and consolidated his resources, became again at war with his neighbours, and commenced another career of conquest. He now proclaimed himself the especial defender and propagator of the Mahometan faith, and declared that for this he had a direct mission from

heaven. He infected his followers with a fanaticism which proved as fierce and effective as that by means of which Mahomet had fused together and concentrated the strength of the wandering tribes of Arabia. Like Mahomet, too, Othman held out to his followers as the reward of victory large possessions and political and military promotion. Othman had previously conquered and subdued all the Turkish princes of Western Asia except the Emir of Caramania. The struggle between the Ottomans and this branch of the Seljukian Turks, which commenced under Othman, continued during the reigns of many of his successors. In the latter years of his reign it was principally the Turkish empire in Asia from which further accessions of territory were gained. Implicit as was the confidence which in general Othman implanted in the hearts of his followers, some of his officers opposed, as too ambitious, some of the projects of the later years of his reign. In 1299 Othman declared in a council of war his intention of attacking the formidable Greek fortress of Koeprihissar. Among others, his venerable uncle, Dundar, who, seventy years before, had been one of the four hundred and forty-four horsemen who had followed the banner of Ertoghrol, endeavoured to dissuade him from the attempt. Overcome by rage, and observing too that Dundar was the mouthpiece of a large

section of his officers, Othman raised his bow and shot his uncle dead. Von Hammer says, "This murder of an uncle marks with terror the commencement of the Ottoman sway, as the murder of a brother did that of Rome."

Kocprihissar soon fell before the assaults of the Ottomah. In 1301, Othman met, for the first time, a regular Greek army at Kouyonhissar, or Baphœum. It was commanded by Mouzaros, commander of the guards to the emperor. Othman was victorious. • In 1307 he had fought his way to the Black Sea, leaving behind him, subdued, the cities of Nice, Brusa, and Nicomedia. These, however, he had completely invested. He surrounded them with cordons of strong forts, and constantly harassed the garrisons by assaults and surprises. The Greek emperor, unable to stem the tide of Turkish conquest by his own Greek or mercenary troops, incited a Mongolian army to attack Othman's southern frontier. But Othman sent his son Orchan against them, who totally defeated them. Orchan now commanded the Ottoman army, his father being oppressed by age and weakness. In 1326 Orchan took Brusa. Othman only survived to hear the joyful news, and to bestow his blessing upon his victorious

"My son," said he; "I am dying; and I without regret, because I leave such a successor as thou. Be just; love goodness, and

show mercy. Give the same protection to all thy subjects, and extend the faith of the prophet." He directed his body to be buried at Brusa, which he recommended Orchan to make his capital. His son obeyed both commands. He was buried at Brusa. A splendid mausoleum was erected over his remains. His standard and scimitar are still preserved by the imperial family of Turkey. The girding on of the sword of Othman is analogous in Turkey to the coronation of Christian kings. At the accession of a new Sultan, the prayer of the Ottoman people is, "May he be as good as Othman." Knolles says, "Othman was wise, politic, valiant, and fortunate, but full of dissimulation, and ambitious above measure, not rash in his attempts, and yet very resolute; what he took in hand he commonly brought to good effect; to all men he was bountiful and liberal, but especially to his men of war, and the poor, whom he would many times feed and clothe with his own hands. Of a poor lordship he left a great kingdom, having subdued a great part of Lesser Asia, and is worthily accounted the first founder of the Turks' great kingdom and empire."

Othman left two sons, Orchan, the conqueror of the Mongals and the captor of Brusa, and Ala-ed-deen. Orchan was elected Emir. He urged his brother to share his throne. Ala-ed-deen refused

to consent to any joint sovereignty or to any division of his father's territories. He asked only the revenues of a single village for his maintenance. Orchan then said, "Since, brother, you will not accept the flocks and herds that I offer thee, be thou the shepherd of my people; be my vizier." Orchan took the personal command of his armies. Ala-ed-deen devoted himself to the domestic policy of the state, and to the organization and maintenance of the military establishment. It was by Ala-ed-deen that the Janizaries, that corps so long the terror of the Christian world, and which exercised almost from their first organization such a large influence in the direction of the Turkish civil and military polity, were organized. The Ottoman Turks had never yet possessed any semblance of a standing army, similar to the military organization which commenced to exist in the kingdoms of the Christian world more than a century after. The same men who fed the flocks on the banks of the Euphrates and Sakaria had followed the banner of Solyman, Ertoghral, and Othman in war. Such in the main, the general body of the nation, continued to be the source whence in the time of war the Ottoman troops were drawn. But the wisdom of Ala-ed-deen saw the necessity for the organization of certain forces which should make war their sole business and profession, who should

be always prepared to act in any sudden exigency. Ala-ed-deen first embodied a corps called Yaya, or Piade. They were all infantry, and were raised and recruited from the body of the Ottoman population. He next raised the famous Janizaries. They were entirely composed of Christian children, taken in battle and in sieges, and who were compelled to embrace the Mahometan faith. A thousand recruits were regularly added every year; they were called Yeni Tscheri, or new troops, which European writers have corrupted into Janizaries. The Janizaries were trained to warlike exercises from their earliest years. They were subjected to the most stringent discipline. They were debarred from forming any territorial connection with the land of their enforced adoption. But whilst their views and prospects of advancement were strictly limited by their profession of arms, the highest military posts were open to them as the rewards of courage and conduct in the field. No checks were imposed upon their angriest and most sordid passions. The event proved, all through the Turkish history, the extreme wisdom which established the characteristic features of their organization. Their isolated position, along with the complete community of interest and fraternity of feeling which bound them together, proved thoroughly adequate to obviate that degeneracy and enervation which

had so speedily, after the first blaze of conquest, settled down as a corroding rust upon every Eastern empire which had before arisen, and which was, before many centuries, so thoroughly to eat into the heart of the whole Ottoman polity and system, into every branch of its military service, with their sole exception.

Next in historic importance to the Janizaries, were the Spahis, or equestrian body-guards of the Sultan, which were also first raised by the vizier Ala-ed-deen. Ala-ed-deen indeed gave to the Ottoman crown a military organization, whose capacities afterwards proved adequate for adaptation to every exigency, and to the fortunes of every epoch of the Turkish empire. Besides the Janizaries, Spahis, and Piade, Ala-ed-deen embodied also the corps of Silihdars, or vassal cavalry, Ouloufedji, or paid horsemen, Ghoureha, or foreign horse, Azabs, or light infantry, and Akindji, or irregular light horse. The Akindji were the Cossacks of the Ottoman army. They received neither pay like the Janizaries, nor lands like the Piade. They were entirely dependent upon plunder. They were gathered together in irregular hordes to accompany every military enterprize. They foraged for the regular troops, covered their rear, or harassed the retreat of an enemy.

Othman had left Nice and Nicomedia untaken. Orchan took Nicomedia in 1326, the first year of his

reign. Andronicus, the Greek emperor, after the death of Othman, crossed the Hellespont, with a hastily-raised levy, to raise the siege of Nice; Orchan met him, with a portion of his army, routed his troops, who had been hurriedly embodied in the streets of Constantinople, and took his camp, baggage, and ammunition of war. The garrison of Nice had been advised by Andronicus of his intention to come to their assistance. They daily expected the appearance of his troops. Upon his knowledge of this their expectant position, Orchan based a stratagem, by which he gained Nice. He disguised eight hundred of his own followers as Greek soldiers, and directed them to approach the city. The pseudo-Greeks met in mock encounter a force of irregular Turkish horse which were scouring the country near the ramparts of the city. The disguised Turks, after having apparently routed the opposing force, made for the gate of the city. The gate was unsuspectingly opened by the garrison. The force which had thus gained ingress, supported by an assault by the besiegers, soon gained the city. Pergamus, or Berghama, was soon after taken from the Turkish prince of Karasi, or Mysia, along with his whole dominions. Now (A. D. 1336) was all North-western Asia Minor included in the Ottoman dominions. Brusa, Nicomedia, Nice, and Pergamus, were all within its

frontier. Nothing now intervened between the Turkish territories and the city of Constantine but the waters of the calm and narrow Bosphorus.

For twenty years the Ottomans were at peace. This period Orchan, with the valuable co-operation of Ala-ed-deen, employed in strengthening and consolidating his recently acquired territories and resources. Many noble edifices, the work of this period, are still the monuments of his fame. During this period, too, the brothers completed that military organization which has been delineated. Deposits of Turkish races had for centuries been settling down in Asia Minor. All the upper strata of population, all the characteristic national peculiarities, feelings, and habits of the inhabitants of Orchan's empire were Turkish. All his subjects were, speaking generally, bound together by national ties. The rule of the Ottomans in Asia was not, as afterwards in Europe, Egypt, and Barbary, of one race over others, not of oligarchs over helots; it was a government of compatriots and co-religionists. To this, as a cause, along with the comparatively tolerant principles of government which guided the earliest Ottoman rulers, and with their thorough acquaintance with statecraft and the details of civil polity, is it to be attributed that it is only in Asia Minor that Ottoman rule has taken root, has become

really territorial, and nationally recognized. Asia Minor is even now, as was Barbary by the Spanish Moors, regarded by the Turks as their home, as their natural refuge and resort in case of expulsion from Europe. Anadol is to the modern Turk "the last home of the faithful."

The last ages of the Greek empire were distracted by constant feud and domestic disturbance. These contests furnished the first occasion of the Turkish arms being employed in Europe. The Genoese possessed Galata, one of the suburbs of Constantinople; there and on the Bosphorus they were attacked by an army and fleet of Venetians, their great commercial rivals and bitter enemies. Orchan hated the Venetians, they having arrogantly refused to receive an ambassador sent by him to Venice, as the representative of a barbarous and infidel power. Orchan had married some years before the daughter of the Greek emperor Cantacuzenus. The Venetians were the allies of the empire. Desire to be revenged on the Venetians, committed Orchan to the war as the ally of the Genoese, and, at the same time, necessarily as the assailant of his father-in-law. Orchan's son Solyman, in 1356, crossed the Hellespont by night, accompanied by thirty-nine faithful followers, and took the castle of Koiridocastron, or "Hogs' Castle." The Greek emperor was fully occupied against the armies of his rebel son-

in-law, Palæologus, and the fleet of the Genoese. He made no attempt to re-gain the fortress occupied by Solyman. "Such," says Knolles, "was the careless negligence and security of the proud Greeks, that, instead of taking up arms and driving their barbarous enemies out of Europe, they, to extenuate the greatness of the loss, commonly said (alluding to the name of the castle), 'that there was a hogsty lost;' and when the important city and castle of Gallipoli were seized upon, they in like manner treated it as a jest, and in reference to the vineyards of the district said, that 'the Turks had taken from them only a bottle of wine.'"

Cantacuzenus now, pressed on all sides, implored the aid of Orchan against Palæologus. Orchan consented, and sent over ten thousand troops. They defeated his Slavonic army, but never re-crossed the Hellespont. They occupied the suburb of Gallipoli. Orchan now gave up the command of the army to his son Solyman, the captor of Koiridocastron, or, by its Turkish name, Tzympe, and now the commander of its garrison. He vigorously set about the fortification of his acquisitions. He made himself master of other places in the Chersonese. He surrounded his whole position with strong forts, in which he placed his bravest and best tried troops.

Solyman was devoted to the favourite Turkish

sport of falconry. While engaged in this pastime in 1319, three years after the taking of Tzympe, he was killed by a fall from his horse. He was buried on the spot at which he had led his soldiers into Europe. Orchan died in the same year, at the age of seventy-five, and after reigning thirty-five years. The term of Orchan's reign, and of his brother Ala-ed-deen's viziership, was, even in higher degree than the reign of Othman, the period which determined the future fortunes and greatness of the Ottoman empire. While Orchan completed in Asia Minor the conquests of Othman, he confirmed and established, as constituent parts of a lasting empire, the acquisitions of himself and his father, while he gained what proved the nucleus of a new empire, and pointed out to his successors a fresh, and, as yet, indefinite field of conquest.

Orchan was succeeded by his youngest son, Amurath, or Murad. He was forty years old at his accession. He vigorously took up the legacy left him by his father and brother, and prepared for further conquest in Europe. But a revolt of some of the Turkish emirs, whose territories had been gained by his predecessors, and which formed part of his empire, engaged him for some time. The insurrection was headed by the prince of Caramania. Amurath marched a large army against him, and having totally routed him and

quelled the insurrection, resumed his preparations and projects for European conquest. He declined as yet the siege of Constantinople. His design was to conquer its remaining territory, to establish his dominion all around it, and then proceed to its investment. After the capture of a great many places of minor importance, and his European territory having been gradually enlarging, he took, in 1360, the important city of Adrianople. This, as his most important capture, he made the capital of his European dominions. He immediately commenced in it a magnificent mosque, and a no less splendid palace. He shortly afterwards became master of Sagrae and of Philippopolis. The Turks had hitherto encountered on their western frontier in Asia, and more recently, after the conquests beyond the Hellespont, in Europe, only the feeble and enervated Greeks. They had now conquered, leaving behind them Constantinople and its circumjacent territory, right across the remains of the Greek empire. Now, for the first time, the Ottomans under Amurath met those Slavonic races, in hostilities with whom they were, for centuries after, to be so frequently engaged. The Turks had now conquered as far as those principalities in Servia and Bosnia, which had been founded by the native races, as the power of the Greek empire in this region diminished.

The See of Rome, the German Empire, and in general, the States of the West under the papal supremacy, had hitherto viewed with indifference the aggressions of Mahometanism upon Greek Christianity. The Crusades were prompted not so much by sympathy for the condition of the Greek Christians in the West under their Moslem conquerors, as by a feeling of resentment at the injuries and indignities sustained by pilgrims of the Latin church to the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. It was the particular circumstance of the possession of the Holy Land and the Holy City by the infidel, and not commiseration and shame for the general conquest of the Eastern empire by the Moslem that had produced the Crusades. And as long as the encroachments of the Ottoman power were made only upon the territories of the heretical church of the East, so long did Latin Christianity—so long did the papal power—remain indifferent as to the success of the contending hosts. But the Ottomans had now conquered right across the former empire of the East, they had overrun all the regions of the Christian world where the supremacy of the Romish see was not allowed, and where the papal bulls and decrees of the Romish councils and conclaves were not received or obeyed. The fate of the Greek empire was sealed. This was palpable to the Western world. It was evident that Amurath or some

successor would very soon complete the work of conquest so nearly brought to a close, soon deal with the vitals as had befallen the extremities, soon number Constantinople with Nice, Brusa, and Adrianople. But more than that, the Ottoman power now menaced the spiritual provinces of the Roman see, threatened to carry into Hungary those victorious arms which had so quickly overrun the Lesser Asia, Thrace, and Macedonia. Pope Urban V., awakened to a sense of the exigency, proclaimed a Crusade against the Turks. The King of Hungary, and the Princes of Wallachia, Servia, and Bosnia, formed a league against their common foe. Their combined army marched against Adrianople. On the banks of the Maritza, about two days' journey from that city, they were met by the Turkish general Lalaschahin, with an army much inferior in numbers. The Turkish army surprised by night the Christian camp, the scene of unsuspecting revelry and carousal. The battle became a rout from the first. "They were driven before us," says a Turkish historian, "as flames driven before the wind, till, plunging into the Maritza, they perished in its waters." The battle of the Maritza was the first of a long series of victories, the commencement of a long course of conquests in the South-western Danubian Principalities. In 1376, Amurath took Nissa. The Prince of Servia sued for peace. Its

conditions were an annual tribute of a thousand pounds of silver and a thousand horse-soldiers. Sisvan, the king of Bulgaria, obtained a peace at the price of the marriage of his daughter to Amurath. Hostilities having ceased for the while, Amurath, following the example of his father and uncle, devoted himself with unabated energy to the improvement of his internal policy and the completion of his military system. He gave grants of lands to his followers, on the feudal principle, assessing each fief at a certain number of soldiers. Amurath had himself married the daughter of the king of Bulgaria. He now espoused his eldest son Bajazet to the daughter of the prince of Kermian, in Asia Minor. His daughter he gave in marriage to the prince of Caramania — he himself shortly after took as another wife, a princess of the royal family of Constantinople. By all these alliances he greatly increased the influence and stability of his empire.

The Greek emperor Palæologus resolved on a last attempt to avert that fate which seemed but too imminent. He had no troops to bring into the field fit to meet the trained and victorious armies of Amurath. He undertook in 1380 a journey to Rome, where he implored the pope to exert his influence on behalf of his expiring fortunes, to stir up another crusade among the

nations of the West against the hosts of the Mahometan barbarian. At the same time, to avert the suspicions of Amurath, he sent one of his sons to serve in the Turkish army.

Andronicus, another son of Palæologus, had formed an attachment for Saoudji, one of the sons of Amurath. Saoudji was jealous of the popularity and of the favour shown to his brother Bajazet. In the absence of his father in Asia, and with the assistance of Andronicus and a band of Greek nobles and retainers, a combined revolt was organised against the Byzantine and Turkish governments. When tidings reached Amurath of the insurrection, he forthwith re-crossed the Hellespont. Suspicious of the connivance of Palæologus at the designs of the rebels, he compelled him to join him in the proceedings, by which he quelled the revolt. The rebel forces were encamped near the town of Apicidion. Amurath marched against them. Under night and unattended, he rode to the entrenchments of the camp, commanded aloud the Turkish insurgents to return to their allegiance, and promised an amnesty. Whenever his soldiers heard his familiar voice, they deserted their leader and their Byzantine allies. They all left the insurgent camp, and joined the forces of Amurath. Saoudji and Andronicus, along with his Greek followers, were speedily taken. Saoudji was led before his

father, who commanded that his eyes should be first put out, and that he should be afterwards killed. The Greek insurgents were tied together, and flung two or three at a time into the Maritza, Amurath sitting by and looking on till the last was drowned. The fathers of some of the rebels were ordered to slay their children before him. Those who refused were themselves destroyed. He sent Andronicus in fetters to his father, commanding him to deal with his son as he had dealt with Saoudji.

Amurath's supremacy in Asia was contested by the king of Caramania, to whom he had given his daughter in marriage. In 1387 war was declared between them. The Caramanian army was thoroughly routed at the battle of Iconium. Here Prince Bajazet greatly signalized himself. From his conduct in the field, and especially from the rapidity and vigour of his charges, he acquired the epithet of Yilderim, or lightning.

Amurath having established his power in Asia, and routed the forces of his only formidable rival, retired to Brusa.

The crusade implored by Palæologus of the western powers had never been undertaken; but a confederacy to resist the further progress of the Ottoman power, and, if possible, to dispossess it of its European territories, was now formed by the Slavonic nations, at the confines of whose

territories the Turks, in the course of victory had arrived. Servia took the initiative. Had the Ottomans not crossed the Hellespont, in all probability the Servians would have ultimately become masters of Constantinople. Servia had been the most important of the states which had been formed out of the relinquished European provinces of the Byzantine empire. The Servian troops had been the most formidable the Turks had yet met in Europe, and Servia now headed the great Christian and Sclavonic confederacy against the further encroachment of their power. The Bosnians, Albanians, and Bulgarians joined the alliance. Wallachia and the Magyars, or dominant race in Hungary, furnished contingents of soldiers, even Poland sent an auxiliary force. Such was the basis, but such was the limit of this formidable alliance. Its limit was Sclavonic. While generally it was an endeavour by Christianity to stay the progress of Islamism, specifically it was a national struggle, a war of races, an attempt on the part of the Sclavonic races to check the growth of the power of the Turkish tribes; to avert from the Sclavon and his home the fate which had overtaken the Arab, the Seljukian Turk, the Greek, and the Macedonian. The undertaking was only Sclavonic. No Western, no Caucasian, no Frankish power joined the alliance. Europe looked on in apathy. The thrones

of the West were filled by very different occupants from such kings as Richard of England, Philip Augustus, and St. Louis of France; and there seemed among the barons no inheritant of the spirit of Godfrey. The Christian world looked with equal indifference upon the struggles of Christian Spain against the Moors, and upon the expedition by the Christian dwellers on the Danube against the Turks.

But although no Frankish power joined the Slavonic alliance, the resources which it of itself could bring into the field were such as to cause Amurath the gravest anxiety as to the result of the coming contest. He left his retirement at Brusa, and having returned to his European dominions, vigorously prepared for their defence. Want of concert in the operations of the Slavonic allies gave him time to collect a sufficient force to meet them. The first campaign was unfavourable to the Turks. Fifteen of twenty thousand Ottomans were destroyed by an army of Bulgarians and Servians. The Christians were intoxicated by elation at this success. Diversity in the councils of the chiefs kept their forces long unemployed, and gave the Ottoman time to recover from the blow, and repair the losses which he had sustained. During 1389, while the Slavonian alliance remained inactive, Amurath organized an invasion of the territory of

the king of Bulgaria, that of all the kingdoms which were constituents of the alliance, which was most accessible to his forces. Amurath himself remained at Adrianople, the centre of the operations he had organized for the defence of his dominions, and for reprisal upon the territories of his assailants. Bulgaria lies to the north of what was then the northern frontier of the Ottoman dominions in Europe, the Balkan range constituting the boundary. Across this mountain chain he despatched Ali Pacha, with an army of thirty thousand men. He advanced upon Schumla. It speedily surrendered to the Turks. In their possession it has become impregnable. It has never been re-taken, although frequently assailed by enemies conscious that its capture constitutes the key, and only mode of access to the central and seaward portions of the Ottoman empire in Europe.

Ali conquered onwards to the Danube, driving the Bulgarian army before him, till at last he besieged Sisvan the king in Nicopolis. Sisvan surrendered. Silistria was ceded to the Turks, and shortly afterwards all Bulgaria became incorporated in the Ottoman empire, whose northern frontier was thereby made the Danube.

Bulgaria subdued, the Turks now proceeded to encounter the army of Lazarus, the Servian monarch. Amurath, having completed his military

arrangements, commanded his army in person. On the 27th of August, 1389, he arrived at the plain of Kossova. The battle-field is crossed by the rivulet of the Schinitza. On the north bank were drawn up the allied armies, of Servians, Bosnians, Albanians, Wallachians, Hungarians, and Poles. The Ottoman army was far inferior in numbers. In the council of war, on the night before the battle, many of Amurath's generals were disposed to the adoption of some feint or stratagem, by which the inferiority in numbers might be compensated. The strenuous opposition of Prince Bajazet determined his father to the rejection of this proposal. Since the Ottoman army had taken up its position, the wind had been blowing from the north, carrying great clouds of dust into their camp, which threatened to annoy and impede them in the ensuing action. Amurath, the Turkish chroniclers relate, spent the whole night after the council in prayer to God, beseeching that he might lead his troops to a victory more glorious than they had ever achieved before, that the dust which threatened to obstruct their action might be removed, and that he himself might meet a glorious death at the head of his troops. On the morrow a shower of rain had thoroughly laid the dust. This Amurath accepted as a heaven-sent omen of victory, and proceeded to marshal his eager troops. Prince Bajazet com-

manded the right wing, his brother Prince Yakoub, the left, Amurath led in the centre the Spahis and Janizaries, the Azabs and light cavalry covered the wings. King Lazarus of Servia commanded the centre of the Christian army. The King of Bosnia led the left wing; Vuk Brankovich, the nephew of Lazarus, the right. Both armies advanced simultaneously. For long they fought with equal valour, and with equally-balanced fortunes. The Ottoman left, under Prince Yakoub, was yielding before the fierce charges of the troops of Servia and Albania, who constituted the Christian right, when Bajazet, by one of his "lightning" movements, crossed the field to his brother's succour, and overwhelmed the Christian force. This flank movement decided the fortune of the fight.

Flourishing aloft his huge iron mace, and forming the point of a wedge of living steel, which answered his every charge, and supplied force and momentum proportionate to his consummate energy and leadership, he charged again and again the waning hosts of Slavonic Christendom, till their front was broken, their flanks turned by the ubiquitous Akindji, and their feeble resistance all along their line turned into a thorough rout.

Amurath felt as he had prayed, on the field of his victory. "A Christian soldier," says Knolles, "sore wounded, and all bloody, seeing Amurath,

in a staggering manner, arose, as if it had been from death, out of a heap of slain men, and making towards him, for want of strength fell down divers times by the way as he came, as if he had been a drunken man. At length, drawing nigh unto him, when they which guarded the king's person would have slayed him, he was by Amurath himself commanded to come nearer, supposing that he would have craved his life of him. Thus the half dead Christian pressing near unto him, as if he would for honour's sake have kissed his feet, suddenly stabbed him in the bottom of his belly with a short dagger which he had under his soldier's coat; of which wound the great king and conqueror presently died. The name of this man, for his courage worthy of eternal memory, was Miles Cobelitz, who, before sore wounded, was shortly afterwards in the presence of Bajazet cut into small pieces." More recent and better qualified authorities tell the story somewhat differently. In the middle of the fight, and before its event was yet apparent or probable, a Christian noble, Milosch Kabilovitsch, galloped forth as if a deserter from the Servian ranks, and sought the royal presence of Amurath. He enforced his request for an audience by maintaining that he had important intelligence respecting the plans of the allies to divulge. Kneeling before Amurath, he suddenly leapt up, and by one

stroke, buried his dagger in his breast. The royal attendants instantly surrounded him. By a miraculous exercise of strength he beat them all off. Again did they cast themselves upon him. Again did he clear himself. He had fought his way uninjured, Amurath's murder unavenged, to the spot where he had left his horse. A third time did the Janizaries surround him. This time in overwhelming numbers he fell, cut in pieces by their revengeful scimitars. Amurath survived but to the close of the battle. His last act was to ordain the death of the captured Lazarus, who, standing in chains, regaled the dying eye of his infidel conqueror.

CHAPTER II.

LIKE Richmond on Bosworth field, Bajazet became king on the scene of his crowning and decisive victory. But unlike Henry VII. of England, Bajazet did not—

*
"Enrich the time to come with smooth-faced peace,
With smiling plenty and fair prosperous days."

Orchan had, in the heat of passion, shot dead his venerable uncle Dundar. A still more atrocious deed was the first act of the reign of Bajazet Yilderim. Yakoub had fought valiantly in the fight, and contributed by his conduct to its success. He had remained ignorant of his father's murder, and of his brother's accession to the crown, and to the sacred scimitar of Othman. Summoned after the battle to the regal tent, the sight of his father's remains first made him aware of his death. In the presence of the father's body, Bajazet immediately ordered his sorrowing brother to be strangled. This act was done, says Seadeddin, the Turkish historian, in conformity with the precept of the Koran, "Disturbance is worse than murder."

Bajazet vigorously followed up the victory of Kossova. Bulgaria had already been overrun and annexed. He marched into Servia. Stephen, the new king, obtained peace on the conditions of vassalage, the marriage of his sister to Bajazet, and a large annual tribute. Still more, he agreed to leave the Slavonic alliance and to fight, with his national army, under the Ottoman banners and for the Ottoman cause.

After a visit to his Asiatic dominions, to receive the homage of his subjects and vassals there, and in which he took Philadelphia, the only remnant in Asia of the Greek empire, Bajazet returned to Europe. In the next year he recommenced hostilities against Hungary, Wallachia, and the Greek empire. In the year after, 1391, Wallachia shared the fate of Servia and Bulgaria. Sigismund, the king of Hungary, had collected an army with which, in 1392, he marched against the Turks. He was routed, and forced to retire to his dominions. At the demise of each Ottoman emperor, the vassal potentates of Asia had endeavoured to re-assert their independence. Amurath had endeavoured to avert this by intermarrying his family with some of his principal Turkish vassals and tributary neighbours. His scheme had not succeeded. And he had been compelled to take the field against an alliance headed by the Prince of Caramania.. A similar

confederacy, headed by the same power, was organised in 1392 against Bajazet. The occasion of his absence in Europe was chosen for the revolt of his disaffected vassals and the invasion of his eastern frontier. The Ottomans were defeated with great loss by the Caramanians, in the neighbourhood of Brusa. Timourdash, the warden of the Ottoman frontier, was taken prisoner. Bajazet, with that celerity which had won him the epithet of Yilderim, or Lightning, hastened to his Asiatic dominions, and took the command of his army. He soon changed the aspect of the war. He defeated the Caramanian army, took its Prince prisoner, and had him slain. Bajazet was not content with quelling the revolt, and securing the integrity of his own dominions, he carried the war into Caramania, overran it, and annexed it to his empire. Amurath, by the subjugation of Bulgaria, had carried the confines of his empire to the Danube. Bajazet, by his conquest of Caramania, stretched his power beyond the Euphrates. By the annexation of Sivas, Samsoun, Kastemouni, and Amassia, he completed the conquest of Asia Minor, and became master of all the southern shore of the Euxine. He now assumed the superior title of Sultan, his predecessors having never arrogated anything beyond the designation of Emir, which had been conferred upon Ertoghrul by Ala-ed-deen, the Seljukian Sultan, along with

the principality of Sultan Ceni, the nucleus and commencement of that which had already in three reigns and one century become so mighty an empire.

Elated by victory, gorged by the blood which flowed in torrents wherever he appeared, he gave himself up for a while to the indulgence of every kind of sensuality. The first of the Ottoman rulers, he openly set at defiance the distinct prohibition of the Koran against the use of wine, and spent days and nights in drunken revels with his favourite general, Ali Pacha.

Bajazet had now secured his eastern and western frontiers against a Turkish confederacy on the one hand, and a league of Slavonic nations on the other. His empire extended from Trebizond to Widdin, from the Euphrates to the Morava. The only spot of ground which remained unconquered between these extremes was the meagre remnant of the Greek empire, Constantinople, and the immediately circumjacent territory. Its exemption from conquest arose entirely from the accident of its position, which had been worked upon by art, so as to render it almost impregnable. Bajazet now resolved seriously to engage in its siege. But he had scarcely commenced operations when he was again called to his Western frontier.

The Greek heretical emperor had failed to

engage the sympathies of the head of the Latin church. The crusade implored by him the Pope did not preach or encourage. It was different when the suppliant was the king of Hungary, a spiritual vassal of the Romish see, and within the pale of the catholic church; or perhaps the immense successes of Bajazet against the Slavonic alliance had impressed upon the pope and Christendom a sense of the magnitude of the Ottoman power, of its dangerous proximity to Christendom, and its near approach to the principal nations of the West, which had not been realised when Palæologus appeared at Rome as a humble suppliant for succour. Sigismund succeeded in arousing the sympathies of the Latin church, of the Pope, and the civil potentates of Christian Europe. In the year 1394, Pope Boniface the Ninth proclaimed a crusade against the Turks, and promised a plenary indulgence to those who should engage in an expedition for the defence of Hungary and the neighbouring catholic states. The sympathies and enthusiasm of the French nation were especially aroused. A strong body of soldiers left France under the command of the Count de Nevers, son of the Duke of Burgundy. The flower of the French and Burgundian nobility followed his banner; among others, Philip D'Artois, the Comte D'Eu, Constable of France, Vienne, Admiral, and Bourcicault, Marshal of

France. The Count of Hohenzollern, Grand Prince of the Teutonic Order, led a force of Germans; and the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem were led by their Grand Master, Naillac. The contingent furnished by the chivalry of Bavaria was led by the Elector and the Count of Munspelgarde. Styria furnished a body of knights, under the Count of Cilly. In all, the Crusaders amounted to about a hundred and twenty thousand, all, says Froissart, "of tried courage and enterprise." Sigismund led a picked army, and Wallachia engaged to co-operate in the expedition. The Crusaders left sanguine of success, determined, says Froissart, "to break the force of Bajazet in Hungary, and when this was done, to advance to Constantinople, cross the Hellespont, enter Syria, gain the Holy Land, and deliver Jerusalem and the holy sepulchre from the hands of the infidels."

The Christian host, after being marshalled, and the plan of operations agreed upon, set out, Sigismund commanding the Hungarian army, and the Comte de Nevers the whole force of the Crusaders. Widdin fell at the first assault. The taking of Orsova and Raco quickly followed. Nicopolis was the first place invested by the Christian army that made any show of resistance; its commandant, Yoglan Bey, determined to hold out till the Sultan, who was hastening forward

by forced marches, should come to his relief. The Crusaders leisurely commenced the operations of a regular siege, ignorant of Bajazet's approach, and boasting that he would not dare to cross the Bosphorus. It was not until Bajazet was within six leagues of their camp that they knew that he was in Europe. The intelligence was brought to the camp by foragers who had met the outposts of the Turkish army, while the French knights were sitting at their evening meal. With eager impetuosity they buckled on their arms and demanded to be led against the infidel. The terrible Akindji now appeared in sight. The chivalry of the West formed in line, their leader having demanded of Sigismund that they should lead the van. Sigismund in vain advised Nevers not to spend the strength of the flower of his army in an attack upon an irregular horde which would be adequately met by far inferior troops, and in vain warned him of the necessity of retaining a sufficient reserve to meet and receive the charge of the Janizaries, the best troops in the Ottoman army. The French galloped hotly forward, leaving behind Sigismund and the Hungarians. They charged, broke in succession the Akindji, the advanced guard of Janizaries, and of the heavy regular cavalry. The Admiral Vienne and De Courcy now earnestly implored Nevers to halt and wait the co-operation

of the Hungarians ; but the young knight, intoxicated with success, would consent to no delay, but galloped forward till he met the main body of the Turks, under the command of the Sultan himself. These formed an extended line, the centre of which received the French charge, while the wings attacked them in flank. Meanwhile, the disordered ranks of the Akindji and Janizaries, through whom the Crusaders had ridden, but whom they had left behind them, re-formed and attacked them in the rear. The Crusaders were thus surrounded on all sides. Overwhelmed by numbers, and opposed in front by the Sultan's picked troops, their fate was sealed. They attempted to retreat. Most were killed or captured. A mere fragment confirmed to Sigismund the wisdom of his disdained counsel. Bajazet now advanced against the Hungarians ; dispirited by the rout and total destruction of those allies whose aid had been with so much difficulty and after such long delay secured, the wings of Sigismund's army fled at the first charge. The centre, which contained the best of the Hungarians, along with the Crusaders of Bavaria and Styria, remained unmoved, and forced the Janizaries and Spahis to retire, with great loss. Servia had remained the vassal of Bajazet, and its army constituted his reserve. He brought up the Servians, who had not yet been engaged, against their recent allies

and fellow Christians. Sigismund could not withstand their charge. The victory was complete. Sigismund escaped narrowly. The Bavarian and Styrian knights refused to flee, and fell around their sacred banners. Many of the French knights who had made that incautious advance which had lost the Christians the day, had been taken prisoners. Bajazet condemned them all to death. Ten thousand prisoners had been taken in all. On the day after the battle, the Turkish army being drawn up, the prisoners were led forth in fetters. Nevers, who had been captured, received his life, with that of twenty-four of his compatriots. All the remainder were massacred before the eyes of Bajazet, the Count de Nevers, and the others whose lives were spared, being compelled to witness the slaughter. "It seems, according to what I have heard," says Froissart, "that Bajazet took delight that the victory he had gained over the Christians, and the capture of the Count de Nevers, should be known in France, and carried thither by a French knight. Three knights, of whom Sir James de Helly was one, were brought before Bajazet and the Count de Nevers, who was asked which of the three he wished should go to the King of France and to his father, the Duke of Burgundy. Sir James de Helly had the good fortune to be made choice of, because the Count de Nevers was before ac-

quainted with him. He therefore said to the Sultan, ‘ Sir, I wish that this person may go to France, from you and from me.’ This was accepted by Bajazet, and Sir James de Helly remained with him and the other French lords, but the two unsuccessful knights were delivered over to the soldiery, who massacred them without pity.” Bajazet sat from dawn till evening witnessing the massacre of the Christian knights and squires. There was but a small remainder left unmurdered when his nobles prevailed upon him to restrain the hands of the Janizaries, and reserve the remainder for slaves. The twenty-five nobles who had been spared were carried about by Bajazet to various parts of his dominions, and there exhibited as testimonies of the victory. And many of those reserved for slaves were sent to the courts of the different princes all over Asia, with the same design. The Count de Nevers and the other lords who shared his capture, were, in 1397, released, upon the payment of a large ransom. “ On taking leave,” says Froissart, “ the Sultan addressed him, by means of an interpreter, as follows:—John, I am well informed that in thy country thou art a great lord, and son to a powerful prince. Thou art young, and hast many years to look forward; and as thou mayest be blamed for the ill success of thy first attempt in arms, thou mayest, perchance, to shake off this

imputation and regain thine honour, collect a powerful army to lead against me, and offer battle. If I feared thee I would make thee swear, and likewise thy companions, on thy faith and honour, that neither thou nor they would ever bear arms against me. But no; I will not demand such an oath: on the contrary, I shall be glad, that when thou art returned to thy country, it please thee to assemble an army and lead it hither. Thou wilt always find me prepared, and ready to meet thee on the field of battle. What I now say do thou repeat to any person to whom it may please thee to repeat it, for I am ever ready for, and desirous of, deeds of arms, as well as to extend my conquests." He now declared that he would conquer Italy and feed his horse at the altar of St. Peter's. He sent armies against Hungary and Styria, and he himself now engaged in the conquest of Greece. He soon reached the Isthmus, subjugating as he proceeded, and with equal celerity overran the Morea. It had been the policy of the Ottomans to make up for the want of that substratum of Turkish and Moslem population which we have noticed as tending so much to the stability of their power in Asia, by transplanting into Europe colonies of Turks and Arabs. Bajazet now removed from the Peloponnesus to Asia thirty thousand Greeks, to make room for such immigrations, and filled up the void with colonies of

Turks and Tartars. He now prepared to resume the siege of Constantinople, from which the invasion of the Crusaders had withdrawn him. In 1400 he summoned the Greek emperor to surrender his crown and city. The emperor refused, nobly saying that, "although he knew his impotency, yet he maintained his trust in the God of justice who protects the feeble and overthrows the mighty." Bajazet had been called away from the siege of Constantinople five years before by the threatened invasion of his Western provinces. A still more formidable danger on his Eastern Asiatic frontier now compelled him hastily to raise the siege.

While the Ottoman Turks had been confirming their power in Anatolia, and extending themselves on both sides in Europe and Asia, the Mongols, who, like the Turks, had made for centuries successive immigrations into Central Asia, were founding a vast empire in the regions westward of the territories of the Ottomans and the Mameluke Sultans of Egypt and Syria. It was a Mongol invasion which had effected the overthrow of that dynasty of Seljukian Turks, upon the ruins of whose power the Ottoman rule had risen. The Mongols did not stay in Asia Minor to possess their conquest, but hastened on towards the south and east. Timour, or Tamerlane, who was now their Sultan, reigned from the Ganges to

the Euphrates, from the wall of China to the centre of Muscovy. He had been already supreme ruler of the Mongols for thirty years, and he was thirty-five years old at his accession. His capital Samarcand was not far distant from Bajazet's Asiatic frontier. Bajazet, by the successes gained by his generals in Asia, extended his frontier eastward till it attained or nearly approached the eastern boundary of Timour's possessions. There was wanting nothing but an occasion to stir up a contest between the two mighty conquerors. Many of the Turkish princes, who, by the extension of Bajazet's dominions in Asia, had been dispossessed of their hereditary dominions, fled to the court of Timour, and endeavoured to incite him to proclaim war against the Sultan. Bajazet prepared for the struggle, placing the flower of his army along the frontier of his recently conquered provinces. Sivas was the eastmost and most exposed of his strongholds. He garrisoned it strongly, and placed a formidable force in its neighbourhood under his favourite and bravest son, Ertoghrul. Scarcely had Bajazet sat down before Constantinople, when he received tidings of the approach of Timour with a mighty host against Sivas. The fortifications were believed to be impregnable. Timour, by employing thousands in undermining them, caused them to be swallowed up in the earth, and

over their ruins he led his army to an indiscriminate slaughter. He condemned the whole garrison to die. Four thousand Armenians were buried alive in graves planked over to prevent immediate suffocation, and thereby prolong their agonies, the necks of all being lashed with cords to their thighs. Prince Ertoghrul and the Ottoman princes were massacred by the sword. Bajazet hastened at the head of the army he had levied for the siege of Constantinople to meet Timour. But the Sultan of Egypt, the descendant and successor of the chivalrous Saladin, having provoked the vengeance of Timour, he hastened from the capture of Sivas southward to Syria. Thence, having overrun its fairest portions, and taken and sacked Aleppo and Damascus, he retraced his course, and marched against Bajazet with eight hundred thousand warriors. This episode had been beneficial to Bajazet, inasmuch as it had enabled the concentration of all his available resources on his assailed frontier. But by the use of a weapon which he knew well how to employ, Timour had also rendered it useful to his designs. It was the hereditary policy of the Ottomans to compel the armies of conquered nations to serve along with and under them. The battle of Kossova was decided by the final charge of the Servian troops. Bajazet had embodied in his army the soldiery of those Turkish princes

whose domains he had acquired by recent conquest. But the allegiance they rendered him was compulsory and simulated, and had not yet been put to the test. Timour had employed the interval of his Syrian campaign in attempts by means of secret emissaries—many of them the Caramanian and other exiles, whose representations had determined him to the war, and who were the compatriots and former leaders or comrades of the already disaffected Turkish troops—to effect their corruption. Every available quarter of their dominion was drained by Timour and Bajazet of troops for the ensuing struggle. Each saw how much hung upon its event; each knew and feared the prowess of his rival's arms. Both armies and races were endued in the most remarkable measure with the prestige of previous conquest. Both had settled down upon the territories of the Arab empire. The one had conquered the fairest portions of the torrid zone; the other had devastated, on every shore of the *Ægean*, the hallowed regions most celebrated in the intellectual history of the world. The one had overrun the great cradle of peoples, the prolific nursing-mother of the Indo-Germanic nations; the other had struck terror into the heart of Christendom. The Mongols had caused the myriad population of the Celestial Empire to tremble for the integrity of their dominions, which had

already for two centuries lain under the thrall of a horde of Mongol invaders. The one race had turned into mosques the temples of Siva, Confucius, and the Parsee—Adored Sun; the other had upreared the crescent in the temple of the true God, and had become, under Providence, the retributive iconoclast of the idolatrous corruptions of Greek Christianity. Each had obliterated—the one for ever, the other for the nonce, until the fulness of time—a generic ancient civilization. The one ruled where the Persian Sonfi had speculated concerning the algebraical mystic number of perfection, where the doctrines of the Gymnosophistæ had been promulgated, and where successive generations of sacerdotal Brahmins had written the lives and exploits of the objects of an endlessly polytheistic worship; the ruddy banner of the other waved over the city of the Lyceum, the Academy, and the Garden, over the silent oracles of Samothrace, Dodona, and Delphi, over the fields of Thermopylæ, Chæronea, and Cynoscephalæ.

Such were the rewards, such the results, of the previous conquests and warlike deeds of the Turkish and Mongol races which under Bajazet the Lightning, and Timour the Lame, now hostilely approached each other.

Bajazet advanced with an army of a hundred and twenty thousand men, but those the conquerors of Nicopolis and Kossova, against the

almost million host of Timour. Timour formed the siege of Angora, a city situated in a large plain, selected by him as favourable to the action of cavalry, of which his army mainly consisted, about the centre of the Ottoman dominions in Asia. Bajazet advanced to raise the siege and give the Tartars battle. Timour's army he found drawn up on the plain of Tchikukahar, one wing resting on a river, the other defended by a ditch and rampart. A wanton manœuvre of Bajazet, intended only in arrogance to show his contempt of the forces of Timour, resulted in the capture of his camp, and the confinement of his army in a position destitute of a supply of water. Five thousand of his troops perished of thirst. Bajazet was obliged in desperation, without further delay and without any attempt to retrieve the error into which his folly had led him, to give Timour battle. The fight commenced at the break of day, on the 20th of July, 1402. The balance soon leaned to Timour. Before long the result became inevitable. Timour's emissaries had met with but too complete success in their attempts to corrupt and alienate the Sultan's Asiatic troops. The Janizaries and Spahis, who were led by Bajazet, stood firm; so also did the Servian contingent under their king, Stephen Lazarovich. The detachment under those Turkish princes whose allegiance Bajazet had compelled, the

Tartar, and semi-Turkish troops in his army, to a man deserted and rode into the Mongol lines; so also did certain of Bajazet's own Anatolian troops, alienated by the avarice and cruelty of the recent years of his rule, and corrupted by the representations of Timour's agents. Bajazet saw the wholesale desertion, and collecting his Janizaries around him, he fought on to the last. Thousands fell at each charge of the fresh troops of Timour. The night had fallen upon the scene before they were annihilated. Bajazet endeavoured to escape under its favouring shade. But he was recognized and pursued. His horse fell exhausted. He was led to the tent of Timour by his captor, the Khan Yagetai. His son Mustapha was slain at the battle; his other sons, Solyman, Mahomet, and Issa, escaped. Ertoghrul had already fallen in the sack of Sivas. Bajazet languished a few months in captivity, carried about by Timour wherever he went as the trophy of his victory. He died in March of the year after the battle of Angora. Timour gave Musa his liberty, and allowed him to remove the body of his father for burial at Brusa. Bajazet has been selected by poets, historians, and dramatists of successive ages, as the very representative of the insecurity of the loftiest position, of the vanity of human wishes.

CHAPTER III.

THE Mongols had not followed by actual annexation or colonization their conquest of the territories of the Seljukian Sultan of Roum. Timour did not attempt to bring within the bounds of his own empire the territories of the Ottoman, which the destruction of Bajazet's army at Angora left defenceless. Even had Timour entered upon the detailed conquest of the Turkish dominions, his death would have prevented its completion, followed as it was by the disintegration of his own previously acquired dominions, and by a general anarchy and confusion. But other causes prevented for long the recovery by the Ottomans from the disaster of Angora. The princes subjugated by Bajazet, resumed, under the protection of Timour, the rule of their domains,—Aidian, Caramania, and Kermian. Even the Greek emperor profited by the Ottoman calamity, and regained considerable portions of his lost territory. The Ottomans would soon have regained these provinces and repaired their every loss, but for the more formidable calamity of the usurpation by

Bajazet's surviving sons, of separate portions of the empire. Solyman, the eldest, ruled in Europe, at Adrianople. Issa established his power at Brusa. Mahomet the younger reigned over Amassia and its immediate neighbourhood. Nor was this appropriation the result of an amicable or concerted division of the patrimony of Bajazet. Each son asserted his right to the Sultanate, and endeavoured to maintain it by force of arms. The whole empire was filled with civil war. A contest at first broke out between Mahomet and Issa. Mahomet excelled all his brothers in military ability and energy, as he afterwards proved superior in the arts of peace and polity. He conquered Issa, and annexed his share of the empire. Issa fled to Europe and enlisted the aid of his brother Solyman. Musa, upon his release by Timour, proceeded to Brusa with the remains of his father. He was taken and kept in captivity by the prince of Kermian. But having effected his escape, he joined his forces to those of Mahomet, and led a hostile force into Solyman's domain, in Europe. He conquered Solyman, and killed him, having overtaken him in his flight to Constantinople. He took possession of his dominions, and was accepted by his army as their leader. He now asserted his independence, preferred his personal claim to the Sultanate, and prepared to contest it with Ma-

homet. He commenced the siege of Constantinople, the emperor Palæologus having favoured the claims of Solyman. Manuel besought the protection of Mahomet, who garrisoned Constantinople with his army. But he was compelled to lead his army back into Asia to quell some disturbances which had arisen among his subjects, and which threatened to deprive him of the territory he had already secured. He returned to Europe; Musa was overcome and slain; Mahomet became—all rival claimants being overcome and slain—the Sultan of his father's dominions.

Twelve years of internecine contest, succeeding the defeat of Angora, had greatly exhausted the resources and weakened the influence of the Ottoman empire. Mahomet wisely refrained from the hereditary policy of constant warfare and invasion which had, in the totally diverse circumstances of the past, been the preservation, as it was the instrument of the extension of the Ottoman rule. He devoted himself to the reparation of the breaches caused by the long course of calamity, and to the maintenance of the boundary already established, and as curtailed by their re-instatement in the Principalities, by Timour, of the other petty Turkish princes of Eastern Asia Minor. He did not resume the hostile aspect of his predecessors to the Greek empire. He cultivated its alliance, respected its confines, and remained

through his reign the friend and auxiliary of the emperor. He restored, indeed, part of the territory of which the empire had been dispossessed by previous Sultans, both to the north and south of Constantinople. He concluded a treaty with Venice, and established friendly relations with the petty states on his Albanian frontier. Thus did he re-establish and secure his rule in Europe. In Asia he encountered more formidable difficulties in the insubordination of his Turkish and Tartar vassals. Smyrna was occupied and fortified by an insurgent force, and the prince of Caramania laid siege to Brusa. Mahomet ultimately regained Smyrna, conquered the Caramanians, and concluded treaties of peace and reciprocal neutrality with the states on his Eastern frontier. He had scarcely secured the safety of his Asiatic dominions, when he found himself involved in war with the Venetians, in consequence of the injuries suffered by the Turkish merchants from the pirates of the islands in the *Ægean*, who sailed under the Venetian flag. His fleet was routed by the Venetian Admiral Loredano, off Gallipoli, on the 29th May, 1416. Peace being restored with the Venetians, he enjoyed a short respite, hardly affected by some slight reverses sustained by his troops on his western frontier, from the Styrians and Hungarians. But the safety of his throne was shortly after assailed by a more formid-

able danger. An impostor appeared in Thessaly, professing to be the Prince Mustapha who had perished at Angora. He was the mere puppet of Djounied Pasha, one of the rebels whose insurrection Mahomet had suppressed in Asia, and to whom he had extended an unmerited clemency. Nevertheless, he obtained credence with many, and collected a large army. Mahomet routed him near Salonica. The few last years of his reign were peaceful. Although not free from many of the stains, especially the cruelty, which affixed themselves to the public character of his predecessors, Mahomet I. was a wise, just, truthful, and singularly clement prince. The stigma of cruelty applies only to his conduct to the claimants, presumptive heirs, and possible competitors for the crown, whom, in the true and invariable spirit of Oriental imperial policy, he mutilated, so as to render incapable of governing. He was pre-eminent as a patron of art and literature, the first of the Ottoman Sultans to show favour to the muses. The Turkish chronicles designate him by the epithet Tschelebi, which is the synonyme in Turkish of the English gentleman. He died of apoplexy, in 1421, and in the forty-eighth year of his age.

He had appointed his son Amurath, whom he had made governor of Amassia, his successor.

Amurath II, was only eighteen years of age at

his father's death and at his accession to the Sultanate. He was solemnly begirt with the scimitar of Othman at Brusa ; Brusa being the capital of the Ottoman dominions in Asia, as Adrianople was of the European territories. The pseudo-Mustapha, although routed by Mahomet, had not fallen into his hands, but still survived. He had fled on his defeat by the forces of Mahomet to the Byzantine court. And upon the emperor pledging his word to keep him under close espionage in the island of Lemnos, Mahomet, whose characteristic virtue was leniency, did not insist upon his being slain. But Lemnos proved only an Elba to Mustapha. No sooner had Mahomet's death become known, than, seizing the favourable occasion of the accession of a boy Sultan, Mustapha again raised the standard of revolt. He made the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus his rendezvous, where he was joined by many of the Ottoman soldiers and a large number of Greeks. He received the support of the Emperor, who had bargained for the restitution of several cities in return for his connivance at Mustapha's escape from Lemnos. This insurgent force was conveyed across the Bosphorus by the Byzantine galleys. On the European side he defeated a loyalist army sent against him, slaying its leader, Bajizid Pasha. He re-crossed to Asia to meet the troops of the young Sultan. Amurath displayed a sagacity dis-

proportionate to his years. By a scheme, which entailed no bloodshed, he put down the revolt and secured his throne. One of Amurath's counselors was the wise and sagacious Michael Ogli. He had been confined by the late Sultan for some political offence, in the state prison of Amassia. Here Amurath, while resident as governor, came in contact with him; he formed a high estimate of his capacity; and one of his earliest acts as Sultan was his liberation. Michael Ogli had served in the army before his incarceration. It so happened that he enjoyed the confidence and esteem of the chief of Mustapha's officers. Upon the consciousness of this he based that conduct which put down the revolt. The forces of the Sultan and Mustapha lay on the opposite banks of a river, waiting for the battle of the next day. Michael rode down to the margin of the stream, and, raising his voice, addressed by name all whom he recognized among Mustapha's forces. All so addressed hastened to the side of the river. Michael immediately reasoned with them as to their positions, insisted upon the truthfulness of Mustapha's claims; and, adducing his own liberation, magnified the clemency and the virtues of his master. His eloquence proved efficient. Some of his hearers immediately swam the river and joined the Sultan's army. The others repeated his arguments in Mustapha's camp. Mustapha became

aware of the disaffection, and clandestinely fled under night. He took refuge in Gallipoli. The Sultan soon after captured him. He was hanged at Adrianople.

Amurath now resolved to punish Palæologus, the Constantinopolitan Emperor, for the assistance he had rendered to the insurgents; he too resolved upon the capture of Constantinople. In the summer of 1422 he sat down before the city with twenty-six thousand troops. The Akindji under * Michael Ogli had previously ravaged all the territory of the Emperor up to the walls of the city.

The line of the besiegers covered the whole landward rampart, stretching from shore to shore across the whole promontory on which Constantinople stands. He employed every mode of assailment, towers, moved upon wheels, containing bowmen; and huge stones were hurled against the rampart. Mines were opened in several parts; and cannon were used, this being the first historic mention of the employment of fire-arms by the Turks. Amurath excited the avarice and the fanaticism of his army, voluntarily promising to deliver all Constantinople to unrestrained plunder, and promising a glorious immortality to those who perished in the siege. On the 25th of August, the day astrologically assigned by Seid bkhari, the head of the sacred sect of the Dervishes, and under his leadership, the Turks made

the assault. The Christian bowmen made a valorous defence, being animated, the Byzantine chroniclers tell us, by the apparition at their head, in the breach, of the Panagia or Holy Virgin, whose aspect repelled the infidel invaders of the Christian city. No other attack was attempted. Like Bajazet, Amurath II. was called away from the unconsummated siege to defend his Asiatic dominions. A younger brother, backed and incited by the princes of Kermian and Caramania, invaded Amurath's dominions, and penetrated to Brusa. The assault was soon quelled, and Mustapha, the insurgent prince, slain. Amurath did not resume the siege, but granted peace, on the condition of a large annual tribute and the permanent surrender of several of the tributary and contiguous Greek cities. The Greek city of Thessalonica had placed itself under the protection of the Venetian flag. Its inhabitants having incurred Amurath's displeasure, he laid siege to it in 1430, after a campaign against the independent Greek princes of Thessaly. After long delay, caused by the vigorous defence of the garrison, a breach was effected, and the city given over to plunder. "The infinite miseries," says Knolles, "which the poor Christian citizens endured in the fury of that barbarous nation, no tongue is able to express or pen describe. Death was less pain than the ignominious outrages

and unspeakable villanies which many good Christians there suffered, heartily wishing to die and could not; and yet the furious enemies' sword devoured all the people without respect of age or sex, except such as for strength of body or comeliness of person, were reserved for painful labour or worse; which poor souls were afterwards dispersed into most miserable servitude and slavery through all parts of the Turkish kingdom Thus the beautiful city of Thessalonica, sometime one of the most glorious ornaments of Græcia, the late pleasant dwelling place of many rich Christians, was by the tyrant given for an habitation to such base Turks as at their pleasure repaired thither to rest themselves, and so it is by them at this day possessed."

In previous reigns we have seen successive Sultans called away from the routine of internal government, from such undertakings as successive sieges of Constantinople, and from pacific residence at their capitals on either side of the Hellespont, to defend their frontiers from the incursions of the Caramanians, and other Turkish peoples of western and eastern Asia Minor on the one extreme, and from the hostilities of Hungary, Servia, or some others of the Sclavonic states on the other. There was now formed against Amurath a confederacy of his foes on each frontier. Christian emissaries stirred up in Caramania a re-

volt which accompanied a warlike demonstration on the part of the Slavonians. The Hungarians and Caramanians concerted that whenever Amurath advanced against the territories of either, the other should immediately attack the other and unprotected extreme of his dominions. Accordingly, immediately after the taking of Thessalonica, war was declared against Amurath by Hungary and Caramania. Each was the head of a confederacy of congeneric tribes. Amurath marched first against Servia. Servia, under Stephen, had been Bajazet's firmest and most valuable ally; but the oath of allegiance by which Stephen had bound himself after the defeat sustained by him along with his Slavonic allies at the battle of Kossova, was only personal, and ceased, on his death, to be binding on his subjects in succession. Mahomet had overrun and re-subjugated Servia, but it was now again arrayed along with its natural allies against the Ottomans. The Bosnians and Albanians, who had lost many of their principal places and large territories, joined the confederacy. Amurath soon laid waste all Servia. He put out the eyes of the two royal princes, who were his brothers-in-law, he having married the king of Servia's daughter. Amurath's policy was to meet each enemy singly, and prevent the junction of their forces. To this severation of their forces aimed at by Amurath,

the civil war in which Hungary, the head of the alliance, was involved, conducted. The unprotected state in which its internal discord left its frontier, determined Amurath, after the subjugation of Servia, to invade Hungary. He sat down with his army "beneath the walls of High Belgrade." Belgrade was strongly fortified. Owing much to its natural position, at the junction of the rivers Save and Danube, it owed more to its splendid fortifications, and much to the defence of its governor Uranus, a Florentine, who was a master of military engineering. Amurath was compelled to raise the siege. He carried his arms into Transylvania. The discords in Hungary had been settled by the election and acceptance by Vladislaus the king of Poland of the crown. He created John Hunyades his general in his province of Transylvania. Fifty years before this Sigismund, the king of Hungary, was retreating through Bulgaria from Sultan Bajazet. In his retreat he saw and wooed the fair Elizabeth Morsiney. A son was born unto her, who became the famous Hunyades. Conscious of his royal parentage, he was trained from his boyhood to deeds of arms. He was celebrated in the internal wars in Italy as the White Knight of Wallachia. When war was declared by his native country against Hungary, he hastened home to offer his services in the contest. The Turks first met him

in 1442 at Hermanstadt in Transylvania. Mejid Bey had invested it, and Hunyades hastened to give him battle, and raise the siege. Hunyades routed the Turks, killing twenty thousand, and taking Mejid prisoner. Amurath sent a larger army, of eighty thousand, against Hunyades. Hunyades met him at Vasag, and with a far inferior force gained a more complete victory than at Hermanstadt. Hunyades pressed forward to follow up two such effective blows, inciting the neighbouring nations, even such as Servia, which had already submitted to Amurath, to recommence hostilities. The Caramanians had meanwhile met with such successes in Asia, as to compel Amurath, although he left so formidable an enemy in Europe, to pass over to Asia, and take the field in person against them.

The fame of the White Knight of Wallachia, and the report of his wondrous successes against the Turks, success unprecedented in the history of the Christian expeditions against Ottoman Islamism, had drawn to his camp volunteers from all Christendom. The army which recommenced hostilities under Hunyades in the spring of 1443, contained the same elements as the well-appointed force which had been sacrificed fifty years before by the temerity of the Count de Nevers and the headstrong chivalry of France on the plain of Kossowa. Pope Eugenius had used every effort

to induce the chivalry of Christendom to follow the banner of Hunyades. One of the conclave of the Vatican, the Cardinal Julian, led a large force. Hunyades gave him the command of the whole force of volunteers from the West. The combined army crossed the Danube at Semendra. Hunyades pushed forward with twelve thousand cavalry, and defeated the Turks on the Morava, near Nissa. King Vladislaus followed with the Poles and Hungarians, and the Crusaders under Cardinal Julian. The Turks were beat back in successive defeats. Hunyades, having taken Sophia, pressed them across the Balkan ridge, and prepared to follow them. This chain had never before been crossed by an invading army from the north. It never has been crossed since in the face of an enemy, until by the Russian General Diebitsch, in the campaign of 1829.

The whole summer had been spent in the victories achieved by Hunyades between the Danube and Mount Balkan. It was December before he commenced the ascent. He first attempted the defile of Soulourderbend. He found every turn barricaded by piles of rocks, from behind which the Turks hurled down stones and arrows. By pouring water over the front of these barriers, which the intense cold almost immediately froze, the difficulty of the ascent was incalculably augmented. The Christians had to clamber up a

literal wall of ice. Cheered by the voice of Hunyades, who led the foremost file, they had performed a large part of the ascent, when they came upon the wall of Trajan. This pre-existing barricade, manned as it was by large bodies of Turks, proved insurmountable. They were compelled to retire. He next attempted the pass of Slatiza. This they found similarly defended, but with undiminished energy and spirit they commenced its ascent. Before nightfall they had beat the Turks before them, and reached the summit. The Turks were largely re-inforced on the Roumelian or southern side of the range. They gave Hunyades battle at the base of Mount Cunobizza, and sustained another defeat. Amurath having returned to Europe, after the defeat of the Caramanians, now sued for peace. By the treaty of Szegeddin, signed on the 12th of July, 1444, written in Turkish and Hungarian, and sworn to by King Vladislaus upon the Bible, and by Amurath on the Koran, the Sultan recognized the independence of Servia, and ceded Wallachia to Hungary.

Peace was now secured in all Amurath's territories. Although he had shown, in the public conduct rendered necessary by the exigencies of the past part of his reign, a capacity for active life and for government equal to the occasion—although he had fully maintained the reputation

acquired by the previous Sultans as the personal leaders of their armies--Amurath's tastes had all along lain in the direction of literature, and the daily details of a domestic life. He had evinced the domestic feelings and affections as none of his predecessors had done. He had at his accession perpetrated no fratricide; and he had shown a remarkable leniency to insurgent relatives. Shortly after the treaty of Szegeddin, thinking that he had effectually established the security of his dominions, he abdicated in favour of his son Mahomet, and retired to Magnesia, with the intention there to pass the remainder of his days in ease and seclusion. But it was not long before the renewal of hostilities called him from his retreat, and compelled him to re-ascend the throne.

From a date immediately after the signature of the treaty of Szegeddin, the emperor Palæologus, and many minor princes of Europe and Asia, bound together by their common enmity to the Ottomans, strenuously endeavoured to induce Vladislaus to break his oath, and again head a confederacy for the invasion of the Turkish territories, and the expulsion of the Turks from Europe. Vladislaus, respecting the sacredness of his oath, stood out for some time. Hunyades was still more reluctant. Neither would have acceded to the proposal, had not Cardinal Julian,

with the elastic morality of his church and order, absolved Vladislaus from his oath, assuring him that the church had power to annul any pledge, however sacredly ratified, contracted with infidels. War was declared. The same contingents constituted the invading force as took part in the war which the treaty of Szegeddin had closed. The valuable co-operation of Scanderbeg was also obtained.

Early in his reign Amurath had overrun and subdued Epirus. John Castriot, lord of Emal-thia, had been compelled to deliver up his four sons to the Sultan as hostages for his continued vassalage. They all died at the Ottoman court except George, who early attracted the attention and favour of the Sultan, and received in succession important military and civil appointments. He was called by the Turks Iskander Bey, the Lord Alexander. Christian historians designate him by his patronymic, Castriot. When the father, John Castriot, Amurath's vassal, died, he seized his domains, and employed Scanderbeg in distant parts of the empire, and in active service. He had served in the early part of the last campaign against the Hungarians and Crusaders. Even if he had really entertained any sentiments of loyalty and allegiance to Amurath, the forcible seizure by him of his patrimonial dominions, and the incorporation of them as a province of the

Ottoman empire, had entirely eradicated such feelings, and substituted a determination to be revenged. The confusion caused by the successes of Hunyades constituted the occasion of his open and final abjuration of the Sultan's service. After the battle of Cunobizza, he entered the tent of the Sultan's chief secretary, and presenting a dagger to his breast, he compelled him to write and seal with the imperial signet, an order to the governor of Croia, a strong city of Emalthia, to deliver up to him the command of the fortress and the adjacent territory. Having stabbed the secretary, he fled with a small band. He obtained without hesitation the command of Croia, and having subjugated all Epirus, he commenced an active warfare against the Sultan, which lasted for many years, and terminated only with his life. His fame is second only to that of Hunyades as an enemy of the Ottoman race and power. In point of personal prowess he is even more famous than Hunyades. The nature of the hostilities carried on against the Turks by each respectively accounts in some measure for this. According to Knolles, he always fought with his arm bare, "and that with such fierceness, that the blood did oftentimes burst out of his lips."

After a course of isolated guerilla warfare among the mountains of Albania, Scanderbeg brought his welcome assistance to the armies of

the Christian confederates, late, by compulsion, his opponents.

The Pashas had sent to importune the Sultan to resume the direction of affairs, confided upon his abdication to a mere boy, immediately upon the first tidings of the infringement of the treaty by the Christians. He hastened to the scene of hostilities, leading his hastily raised army towards Varna, on the western shore of the Black Sea, to which the Christian army was approaching, taking cities and slaying the inhabitants as they marched. Hunyades had formed the siege, and captured the town before Amurath arrived. When he appeared, Hunyades marched out of the city to a plain on its north side, to give him battle. On the 10th of November, 1444, the battle of Varna was fought. The Hungarians and the Crusaders composed the Christian right. The Wallachians were on the left. King Vladislaus, with his body-guard and personal retinues, occupied the centre. Hunyades commanded the whole. Amurath arranged his troops in two long parallel lines, his European or Roumelian forces on the right, and his Asiatic or Anatolian contingent on the left. He himself remained in the rear, in the central part of the field, with the Spahis and Janizaries as a reserve. At first victory leant to the Christians. Hunyades, who himself commanded on the right, and the Wallachians, under their prince Drakul,

on the left, bore down the troops of Anatolia and Roumelia. King Vladislaus pressed forward, too, with the centre. Amurath gave up the day as lost, and had already turned his horse's head, when the Beyler Bey of Anatolia, who had commanded the right, and who had been beaten back with his troops upon the reserve, seized his bridle, and implored him not to give up without hazarding a general charge of the Spahis and Janizaries, who were still fresh, not having been engaged. Amurath determined on this, and immediately re-formed the Janizaries. Vladislaus with the Christian centre had pressed forward further and more incautiously than the wings. He came upon Amurath and his reserve just when he had been induced to make another stand. The Polish nobles, elated by the easy defeat of the advanced Turkish lines, in the effecting of which, however, they had been hardly engaged, pressed fast forward, and were broken by the firm resistance of the Janizaries, while the Spahis charged them in flank. Irretrievable confusion followed. The horse of Vladislaus, who was in the very front, was killed under him. An old Janizary cut off his head, and raised it aloft on his spear, with the face turned towards the Christian army. At the same time Amurath reared aloft upon a lance the treaty so shamelessly violated by the Christians, crying aloud, "Let the Giaours come on against

their God and sacrament; and, if their belief of those things be certain, let them, O just Jesus, declare themselves their own avengers and punishers of their ignominy," he led his whole army, the Spahis and Janizaries, and the collected remnants of the troops of Anatolia and Roumelia to another charge. The Hungarians, terrified at the sight of the ghastly head of their king, fled at the first onset. Hunyades stood firm with the Wallachians. But the enormous odds at last compelled him to flee. Cardinal Julian, the instigator of hostilities, fell in the fight. The defeat was complete. Varna produced as great accession of power to the Turk, and diminished the rule of the Christian Slavon, as much as had done the Marizza or Kossova. Servia and Bosnia were shortly after re-conquered and annexed to the Ottoman dominion, not, as previously, as vassal dependencies, but as integral provinces.

Early in the next year (1445) Amurath again abdicated in favour of his son Mahomet, and again retired to Magnesia. But a revolt of the already all-powerful Janizaries, and their terrible rapine and excesses, again compelled him to mount the throne. Order being restored, Amurath declined for the future the experiment of abdication, and he gave Mahomet the government of Magnesia. It was not long before he was again necessitated to take the personal command of his

armies. Scanderbeg, we have seen, had beat the Turks out of Albania, and had established himself in his ancestral dominions. The Sultan had never personally met him. But his continued inroads upon the Turkish frontier, along with the revolt of many of the petty potentates of Macedonia and the Morea, caused him to resolve to lead in person an army southwards. Having overrun and subdued continental Greece, he marched across the Isthmus. His progress was stopped at the Hexamilion, a fortified wall between the Corinthian and Argolic Gulfs, which the insurgents had manned and defended. He passed it at the first assault, and speedily reduced the whole Peloponnesus. The revolts in Greece quelled, he turned his arms against Scanderbeg and his Albanian mountaineer army. Sfetigrade and Setia surrendered. Amurath next commenced the siege of Croia, the capital; but after several ineffectual assaults, he retired on the approach of winter, and led his army to Adrianople. Next summer he returned with a larger army, and had commenced the blockade of Croia, when he learned that Hunyades was about to cross the Danube with a strong force. He raised the siege, and advanced northwards by forced marches. At Kossova, Amurath and Hunyades again met. The two armies fought hand to hand for two whole days, without either giving way. But the Christian army

mustered only fifty thousand; the Turkish was three times as strong. In the pitched battle of the third day, the Christians had suffered so severely in proportion to their numbers, as to make their defeat speedy and effectual.

Amurath II. died at Adrianople in 1451. He had governed the Turks for thirty years justly and well. An old historian says: "He was a just and valiant prince, of a great soul, patient of labours, merciful, charitable, religious, learned, and a great encourager of arts and sciences; a good emperor, and a great general. No man obtained more or greater victories than he. Belgrade alone withstood his arms. His first care, on subduing any country, was to build Jami, Mosks, Minarets, Madreseh, and Khâns. He gave a thousand filuri every year to Enladi resul Allah (sons of the prophets of God), and sent two thousand five hundred to the monks at Mekka, Medina, and Kuds Sharif (Jerusalem)." Ducas, the Byzantine historian, says: "He observed religiously his treaties with Christians; whereas some Christians were not ashamed to violate them. It must be confessed he did not give way to wrath, but was always moderate in his greatest propensities; he never desired to root out nations or refused peace to the vanquished." He was buried at Brusa, "his grave nothing differing," says Knolles, "from that of the common Turks, which

they say he commanded to be done in his last will, that the mercy and blessing of God might come unto him by the shining of the sun and moon, and the falling of the rain and dew of heaven upon his grave."

CHAPTER III.

THE two last Sultans had been naturally fitted for retirement and study rather than for action, policy, or military enterprise. In the person of Sultan Mahomet II. were revived the characteristics of Othman and Bajazet. Mahomet was twenty-five years old at his accession. His mother, the daughter of the Prince of Servia, was a Christian. The Christians supposed that he had been trained in their faith, that he would publicly profess it, and that he would remit the hereditary aggressiveness of his family against the Christian world. His first act was to order his infant brother to be drowned in a bath. After the suppression of the revolts which arose in some of his provinces upon the occasion of the death of Amurath, and after the completion and codification of the laws and amendment of the census, he set himself heart and soul to the long-deferred capture of Constantinople.

In the year 658 before Christ, a mythical navigator called Byzas founded upon the easternmost promontory of the Thracian Main a city,

which he called after his own name, Byzantium. The Byzantines, although remote and cut off from those scenes which in successive ages were the world's battle-fields, possessed considerable power. They resisted the arms of the kings of Bithynia and of Philip of Macedon. Constantine found Rome too far from Asia for the purposes of government, and resolved to found on the site of Byzantium a new capital for his Empire. His last and decisive victory over his rival Licinius was gained at Chrysopolis, now Scutari, which from the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, directly overlooks Constantinople. Constantinople was finished in 334. In 380, Arcadius and Honorius, the two sons of the Emperor Theodosius, having divided the Roman Empire between them, Arcadius got the Empire of the East. Constantinople continued the capital of his empire. It had remained without intermission, the capital of the Greek or Byzantine empire of the East, and the seat of the patriarchate of the Greek church. It had been besieged by Chosroes, king of Persia, seven times by the Arabs, by Avari, Bulgarians, Slavi, and Russians, and in 1204 by the Crusaders. Bajazet, we have seen, besieged it in 1356 and in 1402; Musa his son, in 1414, and Amurath II. in 1422. But no Moslem had ever yet taken it. It had resisted successively every attack of the Arab and Slavonic races; and its Ottoman be-

siegers had always been summoned from its investment to the defence of some assailed frontier. The conquest of Constantinople had continued for many reigns an unachieved legacy, handed down by each Sultan to his successor. Hardly anything but Constantinople itself, nothing but a few villages and fields, remained of the Roman Empire of the East. It was the only territory unconquered by the Turks between Trebisonde and Belgrade.

The audacity of Constantine, the Greek emperor, itself furnished the hardly wished for pretext for the declaration by Mahomet of hostilities. A descendant of Solyman, the eldest son of Bajazet, was maintained at Constantinople at the expense of the Turkish crown. Constantine judging of the young Sultan by the incapacity he had displayed, when but a boy he had been called upon to reign by the abdication of his father, sent an embassy demanding an augmentation of the allowance for the prince's maintenance. Mahomet professed to resent this demand, to treat it as an endeavour to get a pretext to set loose the royal prisoner as another Mustapha, a competitor for the crown. He refused to comply with the request, and re-doubled his preparations for the siege. He secured the integrity of his Asiatic frontier, and concluded an armistice for three years with

Hunyades and the Slavonic confederate nations. The winter of 1452-3 was spent by both Turks and Christians in the busiest preparations for the siege, which each knew well would not be delayed beyond the ensuing summer. Mahomet collected his forces at Adrianople, built galleys and ships of war and founded large cannon. His artillery he entrusted to Urban, a Hungarian and renegade, who had left the less lucrative service of the Greek emperor. He had previously commenced, in spite of the remonstrance of Constantine, to build on the Bosphorus a strong fortress as a basis for future operations, and a defence to those he employed in the preparations preliminary to the siege. The site of this castle was at Asomaton, on the European side, about five miles from Constantinople, and directly opposite the fortress built by Bajazet. He by this made himself master of the Bosphorus, the channel being narrowest at the point where the fortress commanded its waters. He thus deprived Constantinople of its trade with the Euxine Sea, an almost monopoly, of which it was by its position enabled to enjoy, and of its supplies of grain from the corn-producing countries round the Euxine shores.

With the slender resources at his command no less assiduous was Constantine in preparing for

the defence of his city. He strengthened and renewed the fortifications, which, however were ill adapted for those modern characteristics of siege operations which the invention of fire-arms had introduced. Across the mouth of the Golden Horn, between the city and the suburb, Galata, a strong chain was placed, behind which were moored the Constantinopolitan fleet, with auxiliary galliots from Venice, Genoa, and the Greek Isles. The great difficulty with which Constantine had to contend was the disgraceful supineness, disloyalty, and want of patriotism sullenly manifested by his own subjects. Constantine, from motives of policy, had endeavoured to effect the scheme long cherished by the Latin church and the papal conclave,—the re-union of the severed Christian church. He had by this step alienated the affections of his subjects, who were divided into endless theological sects, but who all agreed in their jealousy of the power and disavowal of the pretensions of the Roman church. Nor did Constantine gain much from the states of the West by his conciliatory overtures to their spiritual head. While he only obtained the services of six thousand of the citizens as defenders of the walls, the auxiliaries from the West were only a few hundred of Genoese under John Guistiniani, with some other slender reinforcements from the maritime cities of Spain and Italy. Altogether,

the garrison did not amount to more than nine thousand men, while the landward rampart of the city alone extended five miles. When Constantine had become convinced of the reality of Mahomet's hostile designs, he had sent ambassadors to tell him that "since he was resolved on war, and neither his own oaths nor the Emperor's submissions could prevent it, he might take his course; that if God, in whom he trusted, intended to deliver the city into his hands, no human power could hinder it; he advised him, however, to reflect on their treaties and his own oaths. For his part, he would shut up the city, and defend the inhabitants to the utmost of his power."

On the 6th of April Mahomet commenced the siege. According to Phranza, the secretary of Constantine, his army amounted to 258,000 men. A fleet of three hundred and twenty vessels held the sea. Constantinople stands upon a promontory. Its apex or point faces the entrance to the Bosphorus; its southern side is laved by the Propontis or Sea of Marmora; to the north is the long and narrow harbour of the Golden Horn. By the chain drawn across its mouth, between Constantinople and Galata, which prevented the ingress of the Turkish fleet, the portion of the city facing northwards to the harbour was left unassailed. The Turkish army covered the whole

landward rampart. The fleet invested all of the city that faced the sea of Marmora and the Bosphorus. Fourteen batteries were erected by Mahomet, facing the weakest portions of the landward fortifications. The centre of attack was the gate of St. Romanus, midway between the Golden Horn and the Sea of Marmora. Cannon were placed all along the line, and bowmen hurled large stones. One of the cannon had been drawn from Adrianople by fifty yoke of oxen. Wooden towers, filled with archers, were drawn up to the ramparts. The battering-ram widened the breach made by the bullet. Miners from the mines of Novoberda noiselessly scooped their channels to the walls. Such multiplied means of attack soon began to effect considerable weakenings of the fortifications. But the assiduity of Constantine and Guistiniani repaired or compensated each night the damage of the day. While the land siege thus went on with equal success and uncertain result, the Emperor obtained by sea an important addition of strength.

One Greek ship of the island of Chios, and four manned by Genoese, had been detained in the harbour of Chios by a north wind. They could not sail till the investment of the city by the Turks. They were laden with wheat and barley, with wine, oil, and vegetables, and with soldiers and munitions of war. On the second

day from their departure they arrived before Constantinople, and made straight for the entrance of the harbour. Mahomet had himself seen them approach. He stretched across the entrance of the Bosphorus a hundred and fifty of his gallies. They lay in the form of a crescent, from shore to shore, prepared to intercept and sink the Christian ships. The Greeks thronged to the wall of the city; the shores were lined with Turkish spectators; the Sultan sat on horseback at the water's edge; the Christian ships advanced, every sail set, every oar at work; the shores and the ramparts resounded to the sailors' shouts of joy and defiance. On they sailed, till they touched the Turkish line. The excitement of every spectator was intense. Mahomet spurred his horse into the sea, shouting encouragement and threats to his fleet. But the Italian and Ægean pilots steered their vessels through the lumbering host of Turkish galliots; from the decks the well-manned guns hurled fire on every side. The five ships sailed right through the line. It was again formed in front of them. Again, and yet a third time, the Christian galleys broke it. Amid the shouts of the garrison, the chain was lowered, and they entered the Golden Horn. "The introduction of this supply," says Gibbon, "raised the hopes of the Greeks, and accused the supineness of their western allies. Amidst the deserts

of Anatolia and the rocks of Palestine, the millions of the Crusaders had buried themselves in a voluntary and inevitable grave; but the situation of the imperial city was strong against her enemies and accessible to her friends, and a rational and moderate armament of the maritime states might have saved the relics of the Roman name, and maintained a Christian fortress in the heart of the Ottoman empire. Yet this was the sole and feeble attempt for the deliverance of Constantinople. The more distant powers were insensible of its danger, and the ambassadors of Hungary, or at least of Hunyades, resided in the Turkish camp, to remove the fears and to direct the operations of the Sultan."

The siege, interrupted by this romantic episode, was resumed with pertinacity by the Moslems, and maintained with new spirit by the Christians. Again the large Turkish cannons discharged destruction at the ramparts. Again, the Greek fire was poured upon the heads of the besiegers. Khalkondylas, one of the Greek chroniclers of the siege, describing the effect of the Turkish cannon, says, that the shock of their discharge was so great that "the ground trembled for more than two leagues around; that although the balls reached the second wall, as being much higher than the first, yet the damage they did gave no discouragement to the Greeks; because those

unwieldy cannons not being easily managed, could not be fired above seven or eight times a day, and only once towards morning, as a warning-piece to begin the military operations." The Greeks were obliged to dismount the large cannons which they opposed to the heavier field-pieces of the Turks, as their discharge so shook the wall as to threaten its destruction.

Constantine had already a front, landward and seaward, of at least ten miles, along which to spread his numerically insufficient troops. It was the object of Mahomet to augment this disadvantage by necessitating the defence of the inner rampart, towards the Golden Horn. This he resolved to accomplish by transporting overland, a number of gallies, and re-launching them in the Golden Horn, within the Byzantine and auxiliary fleet. The suburb of Galata occupies a position with reference to the Hellespont and the Golden Horn, analogous to that held by Constantinople as a promontory between the Golden Horn and the Sea of Marmora—Constantinople and Galata together are the apex of the promontory bounded by the Sea of Marmora and the Hellespont. The Golden Horn running inland from the point of the junction of the Hellespont with the Sea of Marmora, intersects this promontory at its point, dividing it into the two promontories, of each of which Constantinople and Galata is respectively

the apex. Each promontory, of course, increases its breadth as it recedes from its apex. Mahomet, we have seen, had built a fort a few miles north from Galata. From this fort, down the Hellespont and round into the Sea of Marimora, his fleet was stationed. He resolved to convey by land over the promontory of which Galata is the point, and at its narrowest part, immediately behind Galata, a portion of his fleet, transporting them from the middle of the Hellespont into the middle of the Golden Horn. He made a road of smooth planks covered with grease. Along this a host of men pulled eighty galleys in the night. In the morning they were riding in the upper and shallower part of the harbour, where the larger vessels of the Genoese and Venetians could not approach them. Ducas, the Byzantine, says, that "every galley had a pilot at her prow, and another at her poop, with the rudder in hand; one moved the sails, while a fourth beat the drum and sung a sailor's song. And thus the whole fleet passed along, as if it had been carried by a stream of water; sailing as if it were over the land."

The command of the upper harbour thus obtained, Mahomet commenced to make it effective for the attack of the northern rampart. He built across the harbour a pontoon bridge or mole, its southern end resting on his own position outside the landward rampart, but very near the angle

where the ramparts facing the land and the harbour joined. Placing cannon upon the mole, he was enabled to bombard the upper portion of the hitherto unassailed rampart. Guistiniani, with the Genoese and Greek ships, and, after his failure, the Venetian fleet, vainly endeavoured to destroy the mole and Turkish flotilla and to silence their fire. The results of this manœuvre of Mahomet more than compensated the re-inforcement introduced by the five ships from Chios.

The siege had continued for seven weeks. Four large chasms were at last made in the landward rampart, and the tower defending the gate of St. Romanus was overthrown. The ditch was filled with the remains of the battered wall. Mahomet sent a last summons to surrender. Constantine offered to bind himself to pay tribute, but refused to surrender the city, which he had reason to defend with his life. Mahomet answered, says Khalkondylas, "that there was no possibility of retiring now; that he must take the city, or the city him; but at the same time he offered, if the emperor would surrender, to give him the Morea, and his brother other provinces; threatening, in case he took it by assault, to put him and all the great men to death, make slaves of the inhabitants, and give their effects to his soldiers." Constantine was not moved by this last message. He declined the Sultan's terms on the 24th of May; Mahomet

ordered an assault for the 29th. He announced his determination to punish any soldier who failed of his duty. While he sent the dervishes through the camp to incite the passions of the soldiers by depicting the paradisiacal delights which all should inherit who died in the breach, he promised to the survivors unlimited booty, proclaiming that he should content himself with the walls and the houses, and give up to his soldiers the people and their effects. On the 28th, the Mahometan army observed a general fast. At night they kindled fires in every part of their position along Galata and Constantinople, and along the shore of the harbour.

Constantine assiduously prepared for the last defence, nobly aided by the brave Guistiniani; but impeded by the infamous apathy of his own subjects, who manifested too, the narrowest jealousy of their generous allies. Guistiniani filled up the breaches with fascines, and dug a ditch inside the wall. Constantine manfully addressed his few faithful subjects and his allies, and exhorted them to a worthy and glorious consummation of their heroic and unsullied conduct. Retiring to the church of St. Sophia, he received the sacrament, and then for a short while perambulated his palace, looking for the last time upon its regal chambers. Having asked for forgiveness of any of his followers against whom he had ever com-

mitted an offence, he took his station in the breach.

At sunrise the Turkish trumpet sounded, and the Arabs commenced the assault. The Janizaries Mahomet kept in reserve to assault the principal breach. After two hours the breach was still held. Arrows and missiles of every sort had in vain been unintermittingly discharged. But when Mahomet led to the breach his eighteen thousand Janizaries, who had not yet drawn their swords, the Christian defenders wavered. Guis-tiniani, wounded in the hand, retired. His Genoese followers fell back dispirited. The flotilla battered the harbour-ward ramparts. Two folorn hopes gained entrance at other breaches. The Janizaries, a living tide, filled the gate of St. Romanus. The fate of Constantinople was sealed. Constantine standing amid the corpses of his subjects, cried : "Is there no Christian left alive to strike off my head." Two successive wounds from the swords of Janizaries stretched among the dead the last of the Cæsars.

At noon the Sultan, surrounded by his principal officers and guards, rode through the breach to the church, thenceforth by the impious consecration of the Muczzin, the Mosque of St. Sophia. After the conquerers had satiated their thirst for blood, they secured the remainder of their captives as slaves. "In the space of an hour," says

Gibbon, "the male captives were bound with cords, the females with veils and girdles. The senators were linked with their slaves; the prelates with the porters of the church; and young men of a plebeian class with noble maids, whose faces had been invisible to the sun and their nearest kindred."

Gibbon, after deploring the loss of the Byzantine library, adds as consolatory: "We may reflect with pleasure that an inestimable portion of our classic treasures was safely deposited in Italy; and that the mechanics of a German town had invented an art which derides the havoc of time and barbarism." While the destruction of the Byzantine library lost for ever to the human race what was, and would have become still more, a great centre and source of culture and enlightenment, the expatriation of the scholars of Constantinople, and their dispersion over every part of Italy and the other states of Christendom, furnished to the dawning civilization of modern times a more than sufficient compensation. The taking of Constantinople by the Turks, and the consequent dissemination among the learned of the west of the treasures of Greek, classic, and Patristic literature, was not *the* cause of the revival of letters. But it was one of the concurring causes. It was the last stone laid upon the broad fabric which was to support the

civilization and learning of future ages. The banner of the successors of Constantine might yet have waved over the calm Bosphorus, unscathed by the crescent of the turbaned Turk, yet Milton would not the less have sung of man's first disobedience and its fruits; Filicaja and Burns would not the less have suspended their perennial wreaths on liberty's altar; Bacon would not the less have planned the chart of philosophy's future; Cousin, a Plato *redivivus*, would not the less have demonstrated the reality, and shown the manifestation, of the true, the beautiful and the good. When the light of civil liberty began to dawn, when Luther's battering ram began to thunder at the brazen gates of the Vatican, when grizzly baronial castles began to crumble and decay, the Muses again descended to earth, civilization unfolded her broad and blessed banner, the maxims of Plato and Cicero, the verses of Homer and Sophocles, were redeemed from obscurity and taught in the schools, and the seeds of philosophy and poetry were implanted in the comprehensive intellects of Bacon and Malebranche, and the fertile imaginations of Tasso and Spenser. But the dissemination of Greek literature and the general study of the Greek language which succeeded the taking of Constantinople was a very important constituent in the revival of letters. For some time before the final destruc-

tion of the Byzantine Empire, scholars from Constantinople had begun to visit and settle in Italy; Greek chairs had begun to be founded for them in the universities; Boccacio had brought from the east Leontius Pilatus, the first Greek professor who had settled in Italy. At Florence he lectured upon the poems of Homer. But the study of Greek had made little progress till 1453, when the exiled Byzantine scholars thronged to, and were welcomed in, every city of Italy. At Florence a second academy was formed, widely different from the pedantic and grammatical Della Crusca. The Platonic philosophy experienced a revival at the court of the Medici, as enthusiastic as it had obtained in the schools of Alexandria. The study of Greek Patristic writers did much, too, to demolish the monopoly exercised over the minds of the clergy by the fathers and schoolmen of the Latin Church. John Erskine of Dun, had introduced into Scotland, in 1534, the study of Greek, having brought with him, upon his return from his travels, a Frenchman skilled in the Greek tongue, whom he settled at Montrose; John Knox's mind first became enlightened by reading the fathers in their original works, as distinguished from the garbled extracts from their writings with which the church supplied him, and the Greek father Jerome, as well as Augustine, the

Cicero of Latin Christianity, he made his especial study. The truth irradiated the mind of Luther from the reading of the New Testament in the original.

But let us leave the scene of civilization which was, under providence, benefited by the barbarous act, and return to the barbarians who effected it.

CHAPTER IV.

THE policy of the Turks in respect of the inhabitants of conquered provinces differed widely from that of the Arab and other conquering races. Mahomet had commanded the conversion or destruction of the infidel; and the Arabs had practised it in all their wars. The Ottomans, especially in Europe, encouraged the inhabitants of conquered provinces to remain under their rule; while they allowed them no civil privileges, they tolerated the exercise of their religion. The bloodthirstiness and the cupidity of the conquerors satiated, Mahomet issued a proclamation inviting the free Greek survivors to return to their homes and their avocations. The remainder of Mahomet's reign, which lasted till 1481, was a series of wars on every frontier, of victories except where his enemies were led in Epirus and at Belgrade by Scanderbeg and Hunyades. The scattered remains of the Greek empire he speedily subjugated. In 1454 he conquered the Morea, from Demetrius and Thomas, two princes of the family of the Constantines. David, the last of

the Comnenian family, had established himself at Trebizond and assumed the title of emperor. In 1455 Mahomet subdued him, forced him to abdicate, and seized upon his dominions. Servia voluntarily submitted to him. The prince of Wallachia submitted himself the vassal of the Turkish crown. Bosnia was conquered.

Mahomet resolved to undertake the more formidable invasion of Hungary. In 1456 he besieged its frontier fortress, Belgrade. He led an army of 150,000 men. On the Danube he had a fleet of two hundred galleys and ships. Hunyades conducted the defence. The Pope, awakened by the capture of Constantinople to the danger that impended Christendom, had preached a Crusade for the defence of Belgrade. The eloquent and valiant John Capistran commanded the Crusaders. A fleet which Hunyades despatched down the Danube from Buda, defeated the Turkish naval armament, taking twenty vessels, and forcing the others to run aground. Mahomet besieged the walls with the same cannon which had battered down the wall of St. Romanus. Each night the garrison rebuilt the gaps made in the day. Mahomet resolved on an assault. Hunyades ordered his troops to relinquish the rampart of the lower city. The Turks poured in in confusion; Hunyades descended from the castle, drove them back with immense slaughter

and took many prisoners. At the same time John Capistran sallied with a thousand Crusaders upon the batteries of Mahomet. He captured the whole of the Turkish artillery. Three hundred cannon and all the military stores were taken. Twenty-five thousand Turks had fallen. Had the Hungarian cavalry, which were upon the opposite side of the Danube, been engaged, the defeat would have become a rout, and the Turkish host would have been annihilated. Mahomet raised the siege and retired. •

In Asia the arms of Mahomet obtained uninterrupted success. He subdued Caramania, the old enemy of his house. In 1475 his general, Ahmed, effected the conquest of the Crimea.

Scanderbeg had rejected every proposal for peace made by Mahomet. Three Ottoman armies he had in succession defeated. The last he had annihilated. Mahomet himself marched against him with two hundred thousand men. Even with this force his efforts to take Croia were ineffectual. Mahomet left Balabanus in command of the besieging army, and retired to Constantinople. Scanderbeg had asked assistance from Alfonso, king of Naples. With an auxiliary Neapolitan force he attacked the Turks. Their general was slain. They raised the siege and retreated. In the next year Mahomet again commanded in person against Scanderbeg. Al-

though Croia still remained uncaptured, Scanderbeg was compelled to retreat. He retired to Lyssa, where he shortly after died. Hunyades had died soon after his victory at Belgrade. These two men were the most formidable opponents that the Ottoman power had ever met. Each in his own sphere—Scanderbeg in guerilla mountain warfare, seldom exchanged for regular fighting, Hunyades as a captain of well-appointed armies on the plains watered by the Danube, had kept back along the northern and western frontier the Ottoman arms, so easily victorious everywhere else. The death of Scanderbeg was succeeded by the conquest of the territory he had held against the Ottomans so long. Albania and Herzegovina became Turkish provinces.

Venice, the strongest maritime power in the Mediterranean, had conquered from the Eastern empire much of its territory in Greece and the Grecian islands. Since the capture of Constantinople, they had lost much of their conquered territory to Ma'omet. The Turks had taken from them Cephalonia, Lesbos, Mitylene, and Eubæa. Mahomet's conquest of the territories of Scanderbeg and his Epirots had carried him to the frontier of their possessions on the eastern shore of the Adriatic. During the Sultan's war with Scanderbeg, the Venetians had ravaged and plundered the coasts of Anatolia and Lesbos,



RHODES.

recently conquered from them. Mahomet now retaliated by the invasion of Istria, Carniola, and Friuli. He conquered on till he approached Venice itself. For three months he besieged Scodra with three hundred and fifty thousand men, "all gaping to devour that poor citie." He was compelled to raise the siege. Venice sued for and obtained peace.

Bajazet had declared that his horse would eat oats at the altar of St. Peter's. Mahomet II. had even projected the invasion of Italy. He had almost crossed its frontier at Venice. He sent Ahmed, the conqueror of the Crimea, with a large and well-appointed naval and military force against Otranto, in the kingdom of Alfonso, who had succoured Scanderbeg. Ahmed took Otranto on the 11th of August, 1480.

The knights of St. John of Jerusalem, who had possessed Rhodes since their expulsion from Jerusalem, had assisted the Venetians in their naval expedition against Mitylene and the coasts of Asia Minor. In 1480 Mahomet proposed to attack them. In April, Mesih Pasha sailed against Rhodes with a large fleet, a powerful army, and a siege train. Two assaults were resisted. A third having failed, Mesih proposed to D'Aubusson, the grand master and commandant, an honourable capitulation. After a fourth and successful attack, the siege was raised and the Turkish army re-embarked.

In the spring of next year (1481), Mahomet was on his march through Asia Minor against the Prince of Caramania, who, aided by the Sultan of Egypt and the Persian Emperor, had defeated a Turkish army under Bajazet, Mahomet's son. He died suddenly among his soldiers on the 3rd of May, 1481. Mahomet was equally pre-eminent as a general and a statesman. While he made as important conquests, and by as illustrious conduct in the field, as Othman or Bajazet Yilderim, he consolidated, renovated, and systematized the Turkish civil and military policy, he codified the laws and established the system of future government. He possessed the highest literary attainments. With a cultivated intellect he was without any emotion save ferocity, and devoid of religious conviction or sentiment. His acts of cruelty were frequent and flagrant, often wanton. He was pre-eminent for sensuality among the most licentious dynasty which history records.

Mahomet left two sons, Bajazet and Djem, or Zizimes. Each aimed at the Sultanate. Bajazet gained over the Janizaries to his interests and was proclaimed Sultan. Zizimes levied an army, and proclaimed his determination to contest with Bajazet the possession of the supreme power. Bajazet was of a melancholy disposition, wholly bent upon the study of poetry and speculation. He entrusted the command of his army to Ahmed Meduk, the conqueror of the Crimea and of

Otranto. Near Neapolis, in Anatolia, Ahmed routed the army of Zizimes. Zizimes proposed to Bajazet a division of the empire, the Hellespont to be the boundary; Bajazet to reign over Roumelia, Zizimes to govern Anatolia. Bajazet said, "The empire is a bride whose favours cannot be shared." After his defeat Zizimes fled to Cairo. After enjoying for some time there the protection of the Egyptian Sultan, he again, in 1482, took the field in Asia Minor against his brother, having obtained the assistance of the Sultan of Egypt and of those minor Turkish princes on the Ottoman frontier who had never yet been brought into complete subjection. He was again defeated. He solicited from the knights of Rhodes protection for a season, and a passage afterwards to European Turkey. The knights assembled in full Chapter, and came to the conclusion, *Regem excipiendum, alendum, fovendum*; "to receive, support, and supply the necessities of the Prince." The event showed the secret object of the decision of the knights of St. John. Their crafty head, the Grand Master D'Aubusson, who had so valiantly defended Rhodes from the assaults of the Turks in the reign of the last Sultan, resolved to turn the possession of the person of Prince Zizimes to good account, to the furtherance of the interests of his order. Zizimes was magnificently received by the Grand Master and the Knights. They

declined, however, to render him any assistance in further hostilities against Bajazet. It was not long before they removed him to one of their commanderies in France. Before Zizimes left, D'Aubusson obtained from him a written agreement, by which he promised, in the event of becoming Sultan, important privileges to the order. D'Aubusson also obtained from Sultan Bajazet the promise of an annual payment of forty-five thousand ducats, in return for the maintenance, or, rather for the detention, of Zizimes.

In November, 1482, Zizimes landed at Nice. He requested to be permitted immediately to undertake his journey for Hungary, from whence he knew he could invade European Turkey. He was informed that he could not leave France without the permission of the French king. After long waiting at Nice, an answer from Paris by a messenger whom he dispatched to Charles VIII., with a request to leave his country, and who had been intercepted by his unknighly keepers, he was removed to Roussillon, from that to Puy, and afterwards to Sassenage. For seven long years was he detained in France. He sent remonstrances to the knights, and to the princes and nobles by whom he was visited. All the while he maintained his faith and performed its duties. "When among the Christians," says an old writer, "he was strictly observant of the Mahometan rites ;

said his daily prayers, and finished *Telaveti Koran*, or reading of the whole Koran every week. Nothing was wanting in him which could be called virtue, prudence, magnanimity, fortitude, and wisdom. He had no equal of his age. He is chiefly praised for rhetoric and eloquence.* A romantic episode during his durance in France was his love for Philippine Helena, daughter of the Lord of Puy, when confined in her father's castle.

Charles VIII. at last released Zizimes from the custody of the Knights of St. John, but only to transfer him to the Pope. In 1489, on his arrival at Rome, he received a repetition of the empty honours with which he had been received at Rhodes and Nice. Upon being presented to the Pope, Innocent VIII., he narrated to him his long imprisonment and the hardships he had undergone. He begged permission to sail to Egypt, to see once more his mother, wife, and children. The Pope was melted to tears, but he refused to grant the boon. An effort to induce Zizimes to embrace the Christian faith was ineffectual. Shortly after the arrival of Zizimes, there came to Rome an ambassador from Bajazet. His pretended mission was to present to the Pope certain Christian relics. The real object of the embassy was

* Modern Universal History. History of the Othman Turks.

to arrange with the Pope the terms of the forcible detention of his brother at Rome. Three years after, Innocent died, and the notorious Alexander Borgia became pope. Innocent had bargained for a yearly allowance of forty thousand ducats for the detention of Zizimes. Borgia proposed and obtained from Bajazet, the alternative to be chosen by him at any time, according to his wishes or necessities, of an immediate and ultimate payment of three hundred thousand ducats, in return for the assassination of Zizimes.

In 1495 Charles VIII. invaded Italy, and seized upon Rome. The transfer of Zizimes into the possession of Charles, he made one of the conditions of peace. Zizimes departed in his retinue. But he had not long left Rome, when he was poisoned by a servant of Borgia's, who thereby gained his three hundred thousand ducats. The history of mankind affords few more touching and romantic narratives of "hope deferred" than the record of the wanderings and imprisonments of Prince Zizimes.

Ahmed had been recalled from the government of Otranto to defend for Bajazet his Asiatic territories. His successor was shortly after his departure compelled to capitulate to the Duke of Calabria, and to evacuate Otranto and Italy. Bajazet had taken Tarsus, and subjugated Caramania, whose Prince had joined the cause of

Zizimes. A second attempt made by him at rebellion, although he was aided by the Sultan of Egypt, was repressed. Bajazet pursued his conquests into Armenia and the adjacent states. These successes were gained along or near the frontier of the Egyptian Sultan, who possessed Syria. Occasion for war was not long wanting.

Amru, the Arab general, had subjugated Egypt immediately after the death of Mahomet. When the power of the Caliphs of Bagdad began to fail, Egypt became an independent Caliphate. After centuries of contention between different families, the Fatimite dynasty had become the possessors of the supreme power, and had fixed its seat at Cahira, or Grand Cairo. By inroads of Turks and Crusaders successively, the power of this dynasty was overthrown. At the close of the twelfth century, the renowned Saladin founded a new line of princes. He conquered Syria, which remained, with certain vicissitudes, a part of his successors' dominions. The Mamelukes were in Egypt what the Turks had been at Bagdad, what the Janizaries were in Turkey. They ultimately overthrew the Saladinic or Saracen dynasty. The Borghites, who were themselves Mamelukes of Circassian blood, overthrew them, and Barcok, the Borghite leader, became Sultan. It was one of this Borghite dynasty who now entered upon a war with the Ottoman Turks.

On the site of Alexander's battle of Arbela, the Ottoman troops were routed by the Egyptian and Syrian army. A storm destroyed a powerful fleet despatched by Bajazet against the shores of his opponent's dominions. After five years of war, Bajazet was compelled to conclude a disadvantageous peace, by which he surrendered to the Egyptian Sultan the fortresses and tracts of land which he had conquered on their common confines.

In the last reign Mahomet had made large conquests from the Venetians, and had done much to destroy their ascendancy at sea and on the *Ægean* shores. They suffered still more severely from the generals and admirals of Bajazet. Louis XII. of France had concerted with Venice to conquer the territories of the Duke of Milan. The Duke solicited Bajazet to proclaim war against Venice. An army of twelve thousand men having invaded Friuli, Bajazet sent a powerful fleet to co-operate by sea. It was commanded by Kemal Reis, the first great Turkish admiral. In 1483 the Moors in Spain having solicited the aid of the Turks against their Spanish enemies, Reis had been sent to their assistance with a fleet, and had ravaged the Spanish coasts. He maintained his reputation in the war with Venice. In 1499 he defeated the Venetians off Sapienza. In the same year he co-operated with the land force in the siege of.

Lepanto. It fell before the combined attack. In 1500, Bajazet commenced the siege of Modon. Twice the Turks were repulsed. An auxiliary squadron from Venice broke through the Turkish fleet and gained the shore. In a third assault, the Janizaries were victorious. Shortly after, Durazzo fell into Bajazet's hands. The Venetians, aided by the Pope, France, and Spain, commenced reprisals by sea. They took Cephalonia and Ægina. Having undertaken the siege of Mitylene, they were repulsed and compelled to retire. The terms of the peace were unfavourable to Venice, the Turks retaining the towns they had taken. To Venice, next to Hungary, is Christendom indebted, as an opponent of the Turkish power, a breakwater against which much of the aggressive energy of the Ottomans was spent. The benefit which it conferred upon Europe was achieved at the expense of its own territorial power and its strong position among the maritime states of the Mediterranean. We find Sebastian Guistinian, ambassador from Venice to the Court of Henry VIII., when one of the courtiers tauntingly said, "*Isti Veneti sunt piscatores*" (These Venetians are mere fishermen), record, in his despatch to the government of Venice, "I rejoined that, had he been at Venice, and seen our senate and the Venetian nobility, he perhaps would not speak thus; and, moreover,"

were he well read in our history, both concerning the origin of our city and the grandeur of your Excellency's feats, neither the one nor the other would seem to him those of fishermen; yet, said I, did fishermen found the Christian faith, and we have been those fishermen who defended it against the forces of the infidel—our fishing-boats being galleys and ships, our hooks the treasure of St. Mark, and our bait the life-blood of our citizens, who died for the Christian faith; as proven, not by ancient chronicles, but by the recent testimony of contemporary historians, and that the standing witnesses of this truth, and of our wars against the Turks, were the towns and territory lost by us in defence of the rest of Christendom; namely, Negropont, Lepanto, Modon, Coron, Durazo, and a great part of Albania."

As Bajazet grew old, his three sons began to intrigue against him and each other for the possession of the throne. At last, Selim, the youngest, the ablest, and most daring, seized Adrianople, which he governed in his own right. His father marched against him. Selim was defeated. He fled to the Crimea, the Tartar Khan being his father-in-law. The soldiers, whose favourite he was, compelled the Sultan to summon him to Constantinople, to defend it against Ahmed, another of the princes, whose claims were favoured by Bajazet himself. The

Aga of the Janizaries met Selim thirty miles from the city. He entered in royal state. On the 25th of April (1512), a rabble of soldiers and citizens surrounded Bajazet's palace. They were admitted to the imperial presence. Bajazet asked what they desired. They answered, "Our Padschah is old and sickly, and we will that Selim shall be the Sultan." Bajazet accepted the necessity, and said, "I abdicate in favour of my son, Selim. May God grant him a prosperous reign." Bajazet died a few days after and Selim reigned in his stead.

Sultan Selim I. was forty-seven years old when he ascended the throne. Before he entered upon his schemes of conquest and for the suppression of heresy, he resolved to compass the destruction of his brothers and their sons. At first, his brothers manifested no disposition to assert conflicting claims to the Sultanate. But it was not long before Ahmed raised an insurgent force, marched upon Brusa, and heavily mulcted the inhabitants. Selim marched against him with a powerful army, and stationed a fleet off the coasts of the disaffected territory. He soon reached Brusa and took possession of it, Ahmed retiring before him. Five of Selim's nephews had been left at Brusa, in the houses of some of the principal inhabitants. The eldest was twenty years old, the youngest seven. Selim had them conveyed to his palace.

He sent his mute executioners to slay them. He himself looked on from a contiguous room. The eldest rushed upon his murderers and sold his life dearly. He slew one of the mutes and maimed another. The youngest, kneeling and in tears, begged to be spared, promising to serve his uncle all the days of his life. All five were strangled. Meanwhile, Korkoud, Bajazet's other brother, resolved to revolt. Bajazet anticipated the consummation of his purpose, invaded his province, had him captured, and sentenced him to the bow-string. Ahmed had collected an army, and had obtained some slight successes over the imperial forces; but in a pitched battle, the first he hazarded, his army was defeated. He was taken prisoner, and strangled by the executioner of Korkoud.

The throne secured against domestic competition, Selim prepared for the realization of his plans of conquest. Fortunately for Christendom, all the states of which enjoyed, during Selim's short reign, an almost unbroken respite from Ottoman aggression, it was against Mahometan schismatics, not against Frankish unbelievers, that Selim had resolved to lead his armies. But, as preliminary to foreign conquest, Selim first extirpated the seeds of heresy in his own dominions. The doctrines of the Schiis, who repudiated the claim to the caliphate of Mahomet's immediate

successors, Abu-bekr, Omar, and Othman, were maintained by the Shah of Persia and the Sultan of Egypt, and by a small portion of the Ottomans. To the warlike vindication of orthodoxy Selim had resolved to dedicate his life and power. He commenced by the suppression of the heterodox opinion, as professed within his own dominions. His reign was sullied by the St. Bartholomew of Ottoman history. Selim obtained, by the agency of a thorough organisation of secret police, a complete list of all who held the Schii doctrines within the Ottoman dominions, in Europe, and Asia. In all, he found they numbered seventy thousand. Forty thousand were slain; thirty thousand were sentenced to perpetual imprisonment.

Selim now prepared for the invasion of Persia. War between the two empires had long been imminent, contention having originated from other circumstances besides that of religious belief. When Selim announced to his council his project for the invasion of Persia, no one answered a word. No one approved, so formidable seemed the undertaking; and none dared to give expression to the doubts which possessed him. Twice did Selim repeat the announcement of his scheme. Still did the same silence prevail. At last, Abdallah, a private Janizary, who was present by accident, the chance sentinel of the day, fell on

his knees before the Sultan, and said that the Janizaries would glory to march under their Sultan against the Persian Shah. Selim made him a Bey on the spot.

On the 20th of April, 1514, Selim left the plain of Yenischeer, where he had collected his army, and began his march. He sent to the Persian Shah, Ismail, a long and elaborate declaration of war, in which he detailed the grounds and objects of his enterprise. After inviting Ismail to embrace the opinions of the Sunnite, or orthodox party, he concludes: "But if, for thy misfortune, thou persist in conduct like thy past; if, drunk with the thoughts of thy power and foolish bravery, thou wilt pursue the course of thy iniquities, thou shalt in a few days see thy plains covered with our tents and flooded with our battalions. Then shall be performed prodigies of valour; and then shall the world witness the decrees of the Most High, who is the God of battles and the sovereign judge of the deeds of men. For the rest may he fare well who walks well in the true faith." Selim's army comprised a hundred and forty thousand men. The commissariat department consisted of five thousand men and sixty thousand camels. Forty thousand men he kept besides in reserve. Ismail's tactic was not to risk a pitched battle, but sedulously to retire before him, and to leave nothing for the

aggressor but depopulated and uncropped plains. Selim's commissariat, therefore, large as was the scale on which he had established it, was no more than adequate for the necessities of a mighty army, which found no food and forage in the occupied lands, but depended for both on the territory left a long distance behind. Selim in vain endeavoured to provoke Ismail to change his tactics and risk a battle.

The Ottoman army having marched through the provinces of Diarbekir, Kurdistan, and Azerbaijan, advanced upon the then capital, Tabreez. His army by this time began to murmur at being led so far from home, and with so little apparent likelihood of being actively and honourably engaged. Hassan Pacha, one of the generals, bore to Selim a remonstrance against further advance, from his officers. Selim beheaded him and took no notice of the remonstrance. Shortly after, the Janizaries openly revolted. Selim rode up to them and said, "Is this your service to the Sultan? Does your loyalty consist of mere boast and lip worship? Let those among you who wish to go home stand out from the ranks and depart. As for me, I have not advanced thus far merely to double on my track. Let the cowards instantly stand aloof from the brave, who have devoted themselves with sword and quiver, soul and hand, to our enterprise." Not a man retired.

On the 23rd of August, Ismail at last hazarded a battle. Selim had left behind small detachments of his troops as occupants of various posts in the rear of his army. He took a hundred and twenty thousand men into action. Eighty thousand were mounted. He had an excellent park of artillery, an arm which neither Ismail nor any other Asiatic power hardly, if at all, possessed. Ismail's army consisted entirely of cavalry, which numbered about eighty thousand. They had no fire-arms. A large portion of Selim's Janizaries were armed with muskets. The cavalry of Anatolia were on the Turkish right, the Roumelian on the left. At both extremes he ranged his field-pieces. In front of them were the Azabs. The Janizaries were in the centre; behind them the Spahis or Imperial Horse Guards. Selim commanded them himself. Ismail commanded in person the Persian right, his general Oustadluogli. the left. The Azabs were instructed to retire at the first charge of the Persians, thus to draw them within the range of the guns. The guns were joined together in two lines on each flank by chains. The Azabs were to retire straight back, crossing the chains. Ismail knew that the Azabs invariably retire^d at the first attack. He imagined, from the position of the guns, and their being chained together, that they would retire obliquely, and that if they re-formed, it would be

on the outward side of the guns. He gave orders, therefore, to his troops, that when they broke the Azabs, they should unflank them. This tactic was judicious. For thereby he conceived that at the same time his troops would escape the fire of the artillery, it being impossible that the guns so cumbrously inter-connected, should be brought to bear on a force which flanked them. He also gave directions to turn in upon the rear of the Janizaries and Spahis, after the Azabs were broken and their guns were turned. Ismail, although he had miscalculated as to the mode of retreat of the Azabs, succeeded in his manoeuvre, escaped the fire, and attained safely the flank of the guns; and charging the Roumelian cavalry on the Ottoman left, drove them in upon their rear. But Oustadluogli on the left had not so thoroughly acted upon his instructions. He brought his force under the fire of the Turkish arms. The whole wing was turned into confusion. The Spahis charged amidst the disorder, and turned it into a rout. The troops on the right wing and the Spahis having so easily defeated the Persian left, supported by a flank movement the Roumelian troops, which had been broken by Ismail. His forces, spent by their previous efforts, were dissipated like spray on the firm front presented by the Janizaries, and suffered from the discharge of their fire-arms. They were compelled to retire.

The rout was general. Ismail escaped by a mere chance. Selim pressed forward, took the camp, and before long entered 'Iabreez in triumph. He selected a thousand of its most skilful artificers, and sent them to Constantinople, giving them houses and provision for carrying on their trades. It was his intention to winter in Azerbaijan and resume warlike operations in the spring. But the impatience of the troops again manifested itself, and he was compelled to lead them back to their homes. The territorial acquisition secured by his successful campaign, was Kurdistan and Diarbekir, the settlement of which, as within the Ottoman boundary, he entrusted to the historian Idris. He executed his trust with consummate skill and ability.

The Sultan of Egypt was the ally of Ismail. The Turks burned to retaliate the losses sustained by them at the hands of the Egypto-Syrian army in the last reign. The alliance of the Mameluke Sultan with the Persian furnished an occasion for the commencement of hostilities. Near Aleppo Selim met, on the 24th of August, 1516, the army of Kausson-Ghawri, the Egyptian Sultan. Selim's artillery produced for him an easy victory. The Sultan himself fell. The Mamelukes elected as his successor Touman Bey. Selim marched southwards, meeting no resistance, and occupying in succession Aleppo, Damascus, and Jerusalem.

At Gaza, Sinan Pasha met a body of Mamelukes and easily routed them. Selim prepared with care and forethought for the journey across the Desert. He effected its transit, and found the army of 'Touman Bey drawn up at Ridania, a short distance from Cairo. Selim's artillery, in spite of the brilliance and fury of the charge of the Mamelukes, again won the day. Selim's next battle was fought in the streets of Cairo. Every street was occupied by Mamelukes, every house was fortified. After three days, Cairo was yet untaken. Selim proclaimed an amnesty to all who should deliver themselves up. By this means, he gained possession of the city. This end accomplished, he had all the garrison slain, and ordered a general massacre of the inhabitants. The Mamelukes were only the governing caste. The mass of the population was Arab, with a substratum of the ancient Copts. None but Mamelukes had hitherto been employed in the army. Touman now resolved to recruit his army from this source, thereby to fill the places of the Mamelukes who had fallen, and the large numbers who had proved traitors and joined Selim. But this enlightened course he was too late in adopting. The Mamelukes and Arabs quarrelled and fought, while Selim commanded both. Touman was taken and put to death.

Egypt was now subjugated.. Selim remained

to organize its administration and to provide means for ensuring its retention. To twenty-four Mamelukes he assigned the government of departments. Five thousand Spahis and five hundred Janizaries he left in Cairo under a Turkish commandant. To the Arab Scheiks he entrusted certain administrative functions. His policy was to develop in a measure the Arab nationality as balance against the Mameluke supremacy. The Arabs had before been in the position of helots. The privileges accorded them by Selim constituted the best guarantee against the re-assertion by the Mameluke oppressors of their supreme authority. Morally considered, the most important benefit which accrued to Selim and his dynasty from the conquest of Egypt, was the succession to the Caliphate, or supreme religious power among all Mahometan orthodox nations. Selim became the ecclesiastical and sacred successor of Māhomet. This was handed over to him by the Imām or Caliph, who, now the representative of only a spiritual power, but the lineal descendant of the Caliphs of Bagdad, resided at the Mameluke court at Grand Cairo. The Ottoman dynasty now occupied a position which it had never before affected, that of the spiritual headship of the Mahometan world. With the Caliphate, too, reverted to Selim the

government and custodianship of the sacred cities of Mecca and Medina.

Selim carried home large spoils, and transported from Cairo, as from Tabreez, a colony of skilled artizans. He established in Syria, as in Egypt, the system of administration on his homeward course. When he reached Constantinople, in August, 1518, he had been absent more than two years, in which he had conquered the Persians and subjugated their northern provinces, broken the power of the Mamelukes, and annexed their empire, Syria and Egypt, and from the Sultan of a Mahometan people, had, by formal consecration and valid transfer, become the spiritual head of the Moslem world. In the next year, in the midst of immense preparations for a naval invasion of Rhodes, he suddenly died.

Most appropriate was Selim's title of Yavuz (fierce). During his reign and since, a common curse among the Turks has been "May you be the vizier of Sultan Selim." Few of his viziers lived more than a month. His whole reign was war, relieved by preparation for war; war, too, carried on on the largest scale, and with the most tumultuous and wanton bloodshed. He left Solyman, his son and successor, instructions, which charged him to make war upon the Christians.

CHAPTER V.

NINE sovereigns of the house of Othman had now reigned. The speedy ascendancy and the rapid spread of the Turkish power had been the result, not of favouring fortune and advantageous circumstances, but of the fiery energy and valour, and the consummate administrative ability of the Sultans, backed and supported as these excellences were by the willing obedience of their peoples and the martial valour of their soldiers. Sultan Solymán I., who reigned over the Turks from A.D. 1520 till 1566, was the greatest of the Turkish Sultans—uniting in highest measure the abilities of the general with the capacities of the statesman, a Bajazet in the field, a Mahomet II. in the trenches, an Ala-ed-deen in the council. He was the contemporary of a galaxy of great Christian sovereigns—of Charles V., Francis I., Henry VIII., and Pope Leo X. Under his reign Turkey and the world entered modern times. The modern system of warfare was commencing. The discovery of new lands and of new routes was being carried on by the maritime

discoverers of England and the Spanish Peninsula. The balance of power had begun to engage the attention of statesmen and warriors. Christendom had emerged into a new life, religious and intellectual. A new prospect awaited the world. All these elements of change and renovation were elements of danger to Islamism and to Mahometan states. It is the glory of Solyman, that in spite of the new-born vigour which antagonistic Christendom had conceived, he maintained the power, and even the ascendancy, of the Ottoman crown; that he extended its territorial possessions; that he hurled new and effective blows at the ramparts of Christendom; that he delayed, for the term of his reign, the approaching decadence of Ottoman greatness; that, in an age prolific of great sovereigns, in an age distinguished by manifold energy, he merited the title which his fond subjects accorded to him, Solyman Sahibi Kiran—Solyman the Lord of his Age.

Solyman was twenty-six years of age when he began to reign. He had already acquired much experience in government. During Selim's Persian campaign he had governed at Constantinople, and, while the Egyptian expedition lasted, at Adrianople. Since Selim's return home, he had been entrusted with the administration of a province. Selim had been feared by his people. They gloried in the new conquests to which he

led them ; but he failed to conciliate their affections. Solyman was loved by all. He was welcomed to the throne. His first acts were generous and just. He compensated all acts of injustice and infractions of personal liberty which had been effected by Selim in the closing years of his reign. No insurrection followed the death of the late Sultan, except in Syria, where Gazelles, the Mameluke viceroy, raised the standard of revolt. But the rebellion was soon suppressed, and its head slain.

Selim had, in the last years of his reign, employed himself in vigorous preparations of naval and land resources, to be used, on a larger scale than ever, against the Christian powers. On his deathbed he had commanded his son to wage war against the Christians. And Solyman resolved to obey the paternal injunction. For forty years, during the two last reigns, Christendom had enjoyed a comparative respite from Turkish aggression. Bajazet II. had conducted operations only against Venice and other minor states. Selim's arms had been fully employed in the Moslem east. Solyman directed his first expedition against Hungary, yet unconquered by the Turks. Louis II., the feeble and boyish king of Hungary, had, with ineffable imprudence, insulted the Sultan in the person of his ambassador, and thus furnished a hardly wished-for pretext for a



BELGRADE

declaration of war. Solyman marched westward with a large, a well appointed, and an enthusiastic army. After some easy but trifling successes, he formed the siege of Belgrade. Belgrade had twice before, the last time with Hunyades as the commandant of its garrison, broken the wave of Turkish aggression. Its third siege, under Solyman, soon gave it to the Turks, who now held the long coveted key of Hungary. Solyman did not now pursue his advantage, but, leaving a sufficient garrison in Belgrade, he returned to Constantinople, to undertake that expedition against Rhodes which Selim, in his maritime preparations, had had specially in view.

Solyman despatched from Constantinople a large fleet, with eight thousand picked soldiers, and two thousand pioneers. He himself led through Asia Minor a hundred thousand men, to the point on the continent nearest to the island. The Grand Master of the Knights of St. John was a brave Frenchman, Philip Villiers de Lisle Adam. His garrison did not amount to six thousand men, of whom about six hundred were knights. He augmented his force by drafts from the civilian inhabitants of the town, the agricultural inhabitants of the island, and the sailors who happened to be in the port. On the 26th of June, 1522, the Turkish armament, sailing from the coast of Syria, hove in sight, and was descried

by the knights from their watch-tower on St. Stephen's Hill. The garrison sadly saw it near the island, but prepared with vigour for defence. The Grand Master had applied, but ineffectually, for support to the great Christian states. The only external aid he received was from Prejanes, the governor of Chios, which was a Rhodian dependency, and the personal assistance of Gabriel Martinigo, a famous Cretan engineer. His service was highly valuable. He countermined no fewer than fifty-five of the Turkish mines.

Solyman landed on the 28th of July. On the 1st of August he commenced the siege. He conducted the siege in every method. He mined extensively. On high batteries of earth, he placed cannon of the largest calibre, and he adopted the then novel tactic of an approach by trenches. The skill and assiduity of Martinigo prevented the explosion of almost all the mines. Breaches effected by the cannon only disclosed new and stronger ramparts behind, and the parties in the trenches were disturbed by constant sallies. On the 4th of August the English bulwark was blown up, and many of the English knights slain. A breaching party immediately stormed, but were repulsed with great slaughter. A second assault, and another against the Italian bulwark was equally unsuccessful, and equally disastrous to the besiegers. In a third attack, Ahmed, its

leader, had planted the crescent upon the rampart defended by the English, but only to be immediately cut down. On the 23rd of September, the largest breach that had yet been formed, was effected in the Auvergne bulwark. Solyman ordered a general assault for the next day. Five storming parties, each ten thousand strong, assaulted at five different points. Every human being in the citadel, even women and children, engaged in the defence, hurling missiles of every sort upon the heads of the besiegers. The grand master was present everywhere. After directing the defence at the Italian bulwark, which was stormed by Piri Pasha, he hurried to head and rally the English knights, hard pressed by Mustapha. While there, a cry arose that the Spanish bulwark was lost. When he arrived, the Turks had mounted the breach. Villiers, rallying the Spanish knights, repulsed and drove them back, after they had held their position for two hours. At every bulwark the defence was maintained. After the Turks had been engaged in the assault for six hours, they retired with a loss of twenty thousand men. So enraged was Solyman at his want of success, that he commanded his generals Mustapha and Piri, who had led two of the storming parties, to be put to death.

On the last day of November, Solyman prepared for a second general assault. After leaving five

thousand dead in the breaches, they were again compelled to retire. Solyman now offered terms of capitulation. He promised to the knights, on the condition of their surrender, liberty for twelve days, to quit the island with their property. To the indigenous Rhodian inhabitants, he promised free toleration, a temporary exemption from tribute, and other privileges. The knights had no alternative but to accept the honourable terms thus proposed to them. Although they had maintained their position, the siege operations had caused large losses to the garrison, inadequate from the first. They could not have survived many more assaults by the Turkish host. They had done their duty to Christendom. But they had no choice now but to retire from the advanced posts which they had, for more than two hundred years, held against the Moslem. After the capitulation, Solyman invited the Grand Master to his tent, treated him with every mark of consideration, and invited him to become his vassal. Villiers firmly declined. Solyman entered the city in triumph, on Christmas day, 1522. The conquest of Rhodes was most important to the Ottoman empire. It added another fertile province. It increased its capacities of maritime ascendancy. It was especially important, in connexion with the late conquest of Egypt by Selim, as it connected that the most remote portion of

the dominions of the Turkish crown with the seat of government and the centre of warlike operations.

For the next two years Solyman devoted himself to the cares of internal government. The power of the Janizaries remained. In each reign it had augmented. Solyman did not dare to diminish the number of the corps. But he established a rival body of royal guards, the Bostangis, or gardeners. They were nominally employed as gardeners, and in other capacities about the royal palace and seraglio. But they were trained to arms, and were instituted by Solyman as a resource for defence, and as a balance against the power of the Janizaries in any exigency.

Solyman was next involved in a war against Christendom by the intrigues and rivalry of its rulers. Christian Europe was now in every state involved in the contest for superiority, waged by Francis I. of France, and Charles V., hereditary king of Spain, Naples, and the Netherlands, Archduke of Austria and its dependencies, and, by election, emperor of Germany. Charles was pressing upon Francis. And Francis despatched an ambassador to Turkey, inviting Solyman to co-operate with him against the Emperor by the invasion, through Hungary, of his Austrian dominions. In 1526 Solyman commenced his march

with an army of a hundred thousand men, and three hundred pieces of artillery. The Hungarian king, Louis, whose silly temerity had caused the loss of Belgrade, raised an army for defence of his dominions. At Mohacz the Turks met the Hungarians. The Turks were superior in numbers. The Hungarians showed great gallantry. In a charge of Magyar knights, a small band penetrated to the position of the Sultan. A lance was shivered against his cuirass. But the disproportion in point of numbers was soon felt. In two hours "the destruction of Mohacz" was complete. King Louis, many of his officers, and twenty-four thousand men were slain.

Solyman marched along the Danube to Buda, the Hungarian metropolis. It surrendered. Having devastated all the surrounding country, Solyman returned home, himself and his soldiers enriched by the plunder of the campaign.

In 1529 Solyman again entered Hungary. Its subjugation was complete. This time he intended merely to march through it to Austria, especially to the siege of Vienna, on which he had long resolved. But the pretext of his expedition was to place upon the Hungarian throne the rightful successor of Louis. He had died without issue. The archduke Ferdinand, brother of Charles V., and brother-in-law of Louis, had claimed the crown. But Zapolya, a powerful Magyar noble,

had pled an ancient law by which none but a native Hungarian could occupy the throne; and had in virtue of this, himself claimed the crown. Ferdinand and his party had defeated Zapolya. Zapolya unpatriotically craved the assistance of the Sultan. Solyman eagerly embraced the opportunity of again entering the embroilment of the politics of Christendom. He promised to support Zapolya. Ambassadors, whom Ferdinand had sent to his court to deprecate his interference, he dismissed with contumely, telling them to tell their master that he would look for him in the field of Mohacz, or in Pesth, and if he failed to meet him there, he would attack him before the walls of Vienna. Solyman left for Hungary in May 1529, with two hundred and fifty thousand men and three hundred cannon. In September he re-took Buda from a garrison of Ferdinand, and had Zapolya crowned king of Hungary. He hastened on towards Vienna. Fünfkirchen, Stahlweissenburg, Pesth, Gran, Comorn, Raab, and many other fortified towns, in succession opened their gates to, or were stormed by, Solyman. Meanwhile, Ferdinand raised from all quarters levies for the defence of his capital and dominions. Austria, Bohemia, Styria, Carinthia, and the Tyrol, each furnished contingents. But all Germany was at this time convulsed by the civil wars arising from the Reformation. All the

inforcements Ferdinand could collect for the defence of his capital, and for service in the field, were twelve thousand foot and four thousand cavalry. The fearful Akindji, the Cossacks of the Ottoman army, first approached Vienna, carrying destruction and slaughter wherever they went. The Viennese were in consternation. They made every preparation for the siege, leveling all the houses near to the ramparts, and throwing up barricades of earthwork where the defences were weak. All women, children, old men, and churchmen were sent away. Many of them fell into the hands of the Akindji and were massacred. Ferdinand himself basely declined to command the garrison, or to remain in the city. The defence was conducted by the Palgrave Philip, and the veteran Nicholas, Count of Salm.

On the 23rd of September the main body of the Turks appeared. Solyman sent envoys into the city, demanding a surrender, and offering favourable terms, adding, that if the garrison resisted, he would not retire till he had reduced it; that he would spare neither age nor sex, and that he would raze the city to its foundation, so that men should not know where it had stood. He determined that he would not rest till Vienna and all Christendom were subdued, and that he was determined not to taste food till he feasted, within three days, in Vienna. Bajazet had boasted that

his horse would eat oats at the altar of St. Peter's. Solyman declared his determination to conquer to the banks of the Rhine. On the 27th of September the passage of the Danube by the Turkish army was completed, and the siege fairly commenced. Solyman pitched his tent near the village of Simmering. Twelve thousand Janizaries encamped round about it. Five hundred archers of the royal guard kept watch immediately around the imperial pavilion night and day. It was furnished with the most costly carpets, curtains, and divans studded with precious stones. Its pinnacles were of solid gold. The Turkish army, between two and three hundred thousand strong, was encamped in seven divisions. The whole country next the Danube, as far as could be seen from the top of the highest spire in Vienna, was white with tents. All the islands on the Danube were covered. Four hundred Turkish vessels were moored on the river. The heavy rains had compelled Solyman to leave the most of his artillery in Hungary. He sprung mines assiduously, and again and again attempted to storm the breaches they had effected. In every assault, the besiegers were repulsed with slaughter. The Turks began to be dispirited. The weather was severe, and their commissariat supplies very uncertain. Solyman ordered a general assault for the 14th of October. He distributed general largesses on

the night before, and had proclaimed his intention to bestow thirty thousand aspers to him who first gained the top of the wall. The night was spent by the garrison in the most vigorous preparations. Counter-mines were sunk, the breaches were filled and strengthened, and new earth-works were thrown up. In the morning the Turkish infantry, in three strong columns, advanced to the attack. But they did not fight with their usual spirit. In old oriental fashion, their officers struck them forwards with whips and the flats of their sabres. But the soldiers hung back, saying that they would rather perish by the hands of their officers than be transfixed by the spits, or long swords of the German Langknechts, or be shot down by the Spanish musketry. In the afternoon, a breach, forty-eight yards in width, was formed by the springing of several contiguous mines, and the Janizaries made a valorous attempt to enter at the gap. But they were again obliged to fall back. Solyman recalled the besiegers. At midnight the tents were struck, and from his unsuccessful enterprise, Solyman had commenced his homeward march. He arrived at Constantinople at the end of November, having left his jaded army at the towns along his route.

Early in the spring of 1531, Solyman was again in the field. He again entered Hungary, at the head of four hundred thousand. Fer-

dinand, alarmed, sent ambassadors to Solyman to sue for peace. They met him in Servia. He refused to treat with them. Charles V. had been engaged in the plains of Lombardy, when Solyman had last invaded his empire. He resolved now to take the field in person against him. He raised enormous levies in Spain, Germany, and Italy. Every dependency of his crown furnished its quota. Vienna was the rendezvous. There were assembled two hundred and sixty thousand trained troops. Solyman did not advance directly through Hungary, to give the Emperor battle. Crossing the Save, he deflected leftwards and entered Styria. Here he was long detained by the heroic defence of the garrison of Gunz. He raised the siege, and still declining to meet the chosen troops of the Emperor, proceeded to devastate Carinthia. He retired to Belgrade, and thence to Constantinople. Charles disbanded his army, and returned to Italy.

Solyman waged war repeatedly against the Persians and other Mahometan states. He dispatched from the Red Sea a strong fleet against the coast of Malabar and the Portuguese settlement at Goa. Selim had designed a similar expedition. But other exigencies had prevented its accomplishment. Solyman's fleet consisted of eighty "tall ships and gallies" He gave the command of it to Hassan Bey. Hassan landed at

Aden, hanged the king and his ministers, and seized the city. The appearance of a Portuguese fleet prevented his attacking any of the settlements in India. He returned home, after trifling successes. Solyman's land expedition against Bagdad was more successful. Tauris and Sultania were first in succession taken. Solyman followed the army of the Shah, and repeatedly offered him battle. But the Persian wisely declined. Solyman marched towards Assyria, and besieged Bagdad. He took it with little trouble. He wintered there, and established all round it the organization of provinces. Early in 1534, the Shah offered Solyman battle, and gained a complete victory. But in successive campaigns Solyman made further conquests from the Persian empire. He gained Georgia, large tracts of Armenia and Mesopotamia, and the cities of Erivan, Mossoul, Bassorah, and Bagdad.

John Zapolya, the vassal king of Hungary, died in 1539. Ferdinand re-asserted his claim to the throne. The widow of Zapolya claimed it for her son. Solyman maintained her cause. He garrisoned Buda and the principal towns; and set Pashas over the territorial divisions of the country. He professed that he intended to transfer to the young Zapolya, upon his attainment of majority, the government of Hungary; but declared that, till then, he should govern it as a

Turkish province. From Hungary Solyman carried on war against Austria. In 1544 Charles and Ferdinand sued for peace. A truce for five years was concluded. The terms were humbling to the Empire and highly advantageous to the Sultan. Hungary and Transylvania continued his provinces, and the Emperor undertook to pay an annual tribute of thirty thousand ducats.

Solyman's naval successes in the Red Sea and Persian and Indian Gulfs were considerable. Far more glorious were the victories of his admirals in the Mediterranean, far more important his conquests on its shores. Solyman's greatest sea captain was the renowned Barbarossa, or Khairreddin Pasha. He was born in the island of Lemnos. His father had settled there, when it was conquered by Mahomet II. from the Venetians. Khairreddin and his three brothers, Elias, Urudsch and Ishak, were trained to merchandize and piracy. Urudsch and Khairreddin sailed under the flag of the Tunisian Sultan, and obtained great wealth as pirates. They paid homage to the Ottoman Sultan, and received in return rich presents. Having transferred their allegiance to him, they conquered Tennes, Telmessan, and Algiers, all on the Barbary coast, and held them as a fief of the Porte. Solyman made Barbarossa a Bey. Charles V. sent against him the great Genoese admiral, Doria. Barbarossa de-

feated him off the island of Djerbil, and sailing for Genoa, ravaged its coasts. Barbarossa having imported to his Algerine principality seventy thousand of the Spanish Moors, sailed in 1533, at the head of a large fleet to Constantinople, to concert with Solyman an expedition against Coron in Greece, which Doria had captured, and generally a scheme of reprisals upon the Christian coasts. In the spring of 1534, Barbarossa set sail from Constantinople with a fleet of eighty-four vessels. He made descents upon the coasts of Italy, sacking Fondi, Sperlonga, Rezzio, and Citraro. From Italy Barbarossa sailed to Tunis. He took it, but in a few months was compelled to surrender it to a powerful armament dispatched by Charles V. In the same year he ravaged Minorca and the Spanish coasts, carrying away large booty. In 1537 he again made descents upon the shores of Italy, and retook from Venice Nauplia and Castel Nuovo in the Morea, and her islands in the Archipelago. Off Prevesa he conquered the combined fleet of the Emperor, the Pope, and Venice. This victory he won by the famous and courageous tactic of "breaking the enemies' line," which has characterized modern English naval warfare, and which is treated in the famous strategic work of John Clerk of Eldin. After carrying the victorious crescent to every shore of the Mediterranean, and founding

the Ottoman power in the Barbary states. Barbarossa died at Constantinople, in 1546. His tomb is still shown in a spot of great beauty on the tranquil shore of the Bosphorus. Dragut, another Turkish admiral, took Tripoli. Piale Pasha captured Oran, and defeated with great loss, in 1560, a confederate Italian fleet of two hundred vessels.

After the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem had been expelled from Rhodes, they settled in the island of Malta, which, along with the small contiguous isle of Gozo, was granted to the order by the Emperor Charles V. They had carried on incessantly against every vessel sailing under the Ottoman flag, whether pirate, war-vessel, or merchantman, the most assiduous hostilities. They had incited the Christian states to equip fleets against the Turks. It was their influence and entreaties which collected the fleet which was defeated by Piale Pasha off Djerbil. Solyman had found the conquest and acquisition of Rhodes especially desirable, on account of the conquest of Egypt by his father Selim. Malta was now a similar obstruction to free communication with his recently-acquired province of Tunis. Solyman resolved to attempt its conquest. Hassan, Bey of Algiers, and son of Barbarossa, and Dragut, whom Solyman had made Governor of Tripoli, actively co-operated with him in his pre-

parations. The Grand Master and the knights strenuously prepared for their defence. The recent conquests of Solyman on the Danube and on the shores of Africa, and the frequent predatory descents of the corsairs who sailed under his flag upon the coasts of the Mediterranean states, had made the Christian powers more alive to the danger of Ottoman aggression, than when the Knights of St. John had, forty years before, sustained unaided the attack of the Turks upon Rhodes. The Grand Master Valetta was more successful in his applications for aid to the great powers of continental Europe than had been his valiant predecessor, Villiers de Lisle Adam. Spain sent a contingent. Her dependency of Naples did the same. The Pope gave a money contribution of a thousand crowns. The garrison consisted, in all, of seven hundred knights, two thousand auxiliaries, a thousand sailors, and the male inhabitants of the island, in number about five thousand, whom the knights had trained to arms. The knights solemnly renewed the vows of their order, and having partaken together of the sacrament, they swore to banish from their minds all other thoughts, whether relating to personal business or feuds, or to earthly pleasure, until the Moslems steered away from the island.

Early in 1565, the Ottoman fleet set sail. Its admiral was Dragut, the captor and governor of

Tripoli. The troops were under the command of Mustapha Pasha, who was Seraskier or Commander-in-chief of the whole armament. The fleet numbered a hundred and forty two gallies, seventeen galliots, and seventeen ships of burden or transports. The land force numbered thirty thousand, of whom eight thousand were Spahis, and four thousand five hundred Janizaries. On the 18th of May the fleet arrived at Malta, and put into Porto Maggiore, on the north-west of the island. Twenty thousand men were landed at Marza Simco, and immediately commenced the siege of the Castle of St. Elmo, which defends the entrance to the harbour. The rockiness of the ground rendered it impossible for the engineers to conduct the siege by trenches. They made their approaches under the protection of portable timber screens. At the same time cannon were mounted upon a mound of earth, which played upon the gallies within the harbour, drawn up to prevent the ingress of the Turkish fleet. But from this advanced post, exposed as it was to the fire of all the Maltese forts, they were compelled speedily to retire. Dragut, although admiral, did not arrive from Tripoli till some days after the siege had commenced. He brought twenty-three additional gallies and sixteen hundred soldiers. He placed new batteries on the point which has since then borne his name.

which commanded St. Elmo from the opposite side of the port. A general assault was made upon the 3rd of June. That, and others which followed, were resisted by the garrison. In one attack Dragut fell. On the 16th of June St. Elmo at last fell. The Turks massacred every survivor. They cut off the heads of the knights and tore out their hearts, and hung them up in their red cloaks in view of the Bourg or city proper, and the other forts of St. Michael and St. Angelo. Eight thousand Turks had fallen in the siege of St. Elmo. Said Mustapha, "If the child has cost us so much, what shall we have to pay for the father?" The Turks now vigorously commenced the siege of the bourg. They turned the cannon of St. Elmo against it, and planted strong batteries upon Mount Sceberras. A force was despatched under Hassan for the attack of Fort St. Michael. But he failed in every assault, and was compelled to retire, after suffering great losses from the sallies of the garrison. He then volunteered to lead a party against the Isle de la Sangle. But in this he was equally unsuccessful. This besieging force was cut off almost to a man.

Meanwhile, Mustapha in person conducted the main siege. A report being raised of the approach of a Sicilian fleet with a re-inforcement, he temporarily raised the siege, and embarked

his troops in the fleet, to give the succourers battle and prevent their landing. But the alarm proved false. He disembarked his forces and recommenced the siege. On the 18th of August a general assault was ordered. For five hours the Turks were in the breaches. Next day they assaulted no fewer than seven times, but with equal want of success. The troops became dispirited, and urged Mustapha to raise the siege. He ordered a final assault for the 7th of September. But on the morning of that day, a Sicilian fleet of seventy-two gallies, under Don Garcias, the Spanish Viceroy, appeared in the offing. The Turks instantly retired. Leaving all their ordnance, they hastily re-embarked, and set sail eastward, leaving twenty-four thousand dead. Of the Christian force, only six hundred men fit for service remained. Knolles, writing forty years after, says "If a man do well consider the difficulties and dangers the besieged passed through in this five months' siege, the manifold labours and perils they endured in so many and terrible assaults, the small relief sent to them in so great distress, with the desperate obstinacy of so puissant an enemy, he shall hardly find any place these many years more mightily impugned, or with greater valour and resolution defended." The Knights of St. John of Jerusalem deserve well of Christendom. An Order instituted amidst

the all-prevalent enthusiasm of the Crusades, they continued incorporated long after the bones of the last Christian expedition whitened the shores of the Holy Land. Instituted to extend the power of the Cross over the Crescent, long after the chimera was abandoned by Christendom they occupied the foremost place as the defenders of Christianity against the fiery attacks of Islamism, and by their last successful resistance defined the limit of its encroachments.

The last epoch of the reign of Sultan Solyman was his last invasion of Hungary. Maximilian II., the second Emperor in succession from Charles V., resolved, upon his accession, to effect the recovery of Hungary from the Zapolya family. He marched into Hungary, and Solyman advanced to the aid of his vassal and to the defence of his province, Solyman was now seventy-six years of age, and worn with years and labours. He was not able to sit on horseback, but was carried in a litter at the head of his army. He led a hundred and fifty thousand troops, fifty thousand being his guards—Spahis, Janizaries and Bostangis, and the remaining feudatory forces. He formed the siege of Szigeth. Szigeth stands in the middle of a marsh, about fifteen miles north of the Drave, and on the borders of Sclavonia. It was the key to Styria. Its garrison numbered two thousand

three hundred men, under the command of the brave Nicholas Count Zriny, "the Leonidas of Hungary." Solyman threw a road across the morass and sat down before the town. Zriny soon abandoned the outer circle of fortification, and retired to the citadel. This was assaulted and taken. Zriny retired, with six hundred men, the survivors of the garrison, to the inner castle. A mine sprung on the fifth of September opened an immense gap in its rampart. Zriny resolved not to await the assault, but to lead his followers against the besiegers in a sally. He clothed himself in his richest attire, laying aside all armour except sword and shield. Addressing his followers for the last time, he exhorted them to die nobly and to sell their lives as dearly as possible. He then took his station in the breach. Discharging against the first phalanx of Janizaries a mortar charged to the mouth, he rushed forth at the head of his followers. Two only out of the six hundred remained alive. And each Hungarian sabre drank deeply of Ottoman blood.

Solyman had died suddenly at Fünfkirchen, during the progress of the siege; but his death was sedulously concealed by his grand vizier. It was not for seven weeks that the army knew it. And meanwhile, Prince Selim had been peacefully installed at Constantinople as Sultan Selim II., the Grand Vizier having secretly conveyed to him information of his father's decease.

In the reign of Sultan Solyman the power of the Ottoman Turks reached its acmé. The Ottoman empire was now an arch which "spanned the ample regions from Bagdad to Belgrade;" and a great adjunct of territory stretched along the African shore of the Mediterranean. Solyman added to the former dominions of the Arab Caliphate European Turkey and Asia Minor. But while under Solyman the Turkish power had arrived at its zenith, it had also attained its limit. Malta was never again besieged, and on the Danube the Turks did not conquer further than Belgrade.

Solyman reigned over—besides fifteen millions of Turks—Armenians, Sclavonians, Albanians, Tartars, Arabs, Kurds, Magyars, Germans, Moors, Mamelukes, Persians, and Greeks. He had by far the best trained, most fully equipped, most thoroughly organised, and best provided for, military establishment of any potentate in Europe. Dragut and Barbarossa gained for him the empire of the sea. He perfected the laws and ensured their enforcement. He remodelled the national feudatory system, and established an equitable arrangement of finance and taxation. He enriched Constantinople and the capitals of his provinces with magnificent buildings. He extended the most munificent patronage to letters, poetry, and science. Solyman was the greatest ruler of the

age in the history of modern times most prolific of great rulers. Called by Christian writers, the Great and the Magnificent, he has an equal claim to the two titles by which the Turks designate him, Solymán Kanouni, Solyman the Lawgiver, and Solyman Sahibi Kiran, Solyman the Lord of his Age.

CHAPTER VI.

SOLYMAN'S death had been kept concealed from his army for seven weeks. "This," says Cantemir, "to a person ignorant of the Turkish customs may be deemed impossible to be done among so many thousand soldiers; but will not be doubted by those who know the more than Pythagoric silence of the Othman inner court; where no man speaks unless ordered, nor dares so much as sneeze or cough." The term of concealment had been sufficiently long to allow Selim to journey to Constantinople from his Pashalic of Magnesia, and to assume the throne before his father's death was published. On the 9th of Rabiolamel, which day the planet Meritch (Mars) ruled in the firmanent, he entered Constantinople. He immediately set off to meet the army, and came up with it at Belgrade. He received the homage of the soldiers.

Selim was the only survivor of seven sons born to Solyman. None of them could have proved a more degenerate Sultan or a more detestable man. The Turkish historians, fond of characteristic designations, entitle him Selim Mest, Selim the Sot.

Solyman had drunk deeply of domestic sorrow. The favourite Sultana of the earlier part of his reign had been a beauteous Circassian. Her son Mustapha inherited his mother's beauty, and was a pattern of manly and chivalrous excellence. The people saw in him a Sultan who should raise still higher the glory of the house of Othman. He was the darling of the army. They looked forward to a new era of conquest under his leadership. But the Circassian Sultana lost the imperial favour. A beautiful Russian girl, Khourrem, "the joyous one," enkindled anew in the Sultan's breast the passion of love. She was a slave; she obtained her freedom from her royal lover, and at last induced him to wed her. Khourrem, or, as the Christian writers have called her, Roxalana, became Sultana. She bore to the Sultan five children; and it was her object to make away with the popular prince Mustapha, and to have the succession settled upon one of her sons. She possessed an unbounded influence over Solyman. She followed the same policy as that by which Madame Maintenon, two centuries later, retained in her meshes her royal lover of France. She sedulously surrounded Solyman with every variety of amusement. The fascination of her manners, and the brilliancy of her conversation prevented satiety estranging the heart of her lover, and ever added new fuel to his passion. To the day of her

death she ruled him, and she had the satisfaction before her decease of effecting the murder of Mustapha. She had him appointed governor of the province of Caramania. By the agency of her creature, Roostan Pasha, she brought it about that the Sultan's ear was from time to time assailed by reports from Mustapha's province of his almost royal state, of his unbounded popularity, and of the desire on the part of the soldiery to anticipate the old Sultan's death, and at once have Mustapha girt with the sacred sword of Othman. Solyman's apprehensions were worked upon till he resolved upon Mustapha's death. In 1553, while journeying with hostile intent against Persia, he commanded the attendance of Mustapha at Aleppo. Mustapha, all unsuspecting, obeyed his father's order. He arrived at the camp with his retinue, and immediately rode to the imperial tent. He was commanded to enter alone. The seven mute executioners presented themselves, and, Solyman looking on from an inner chamber, they flung themselves upon him and strangled him with the bow-string.

The degeneracy of the new government, the incapacity of the new ruler, were not for some time rendered apparent. The fruits of the civil and military organization of Solyman remained. Selim did not at once live down and ignore the prestige of his father's glorious reign. As long as Solyman's

ministers remained in power, as long as Selim permitted himself to be guided [by their counsels, so long were his own indolence and baseness unmanifested. The grand vizier Mohammed Sokolli had merited the gratitude of Selim by the policy which had obtained for him his accession to the throne before the Janizaries had time to make their outbreak, customary upon the death of a Sultan. Selim retained him in his office.

Having bestowed honourable sepulture upon his father's remains and distributed among the Spahis and Janizaries, according to precedent, a munificent bakhshish or donative, Selim, or rather Sokolli, proceeded to repress the revolts which had arisen on the intelligence of the death of Solyman, in some of the further provinces. Ulian Ogli, chief of the Arab tribe of the Sons of Omer, had thrown off the Ottoman yoke and devastated the province of Bagdad. But the local governor easily quelled the insurrection. Ismail, the son of the Persian Shah, had encouraged the revolt. Selim resolved, in reprisal, to invade his father's empire. And that no distraction might interrupt his campaign, he concluded a peace with the Austrian Emperor. The treaty was signed at Adrianople, in January, 1568. An armistice was concluded for eight years, on the conditions, "That each prince should hold what he had; that the Emperor should pay thirty-

thousand ducats as a yearly tribute for Hungary ; that the subjects on neither side should pay anything to those of the other prince ; and, that the Waywode of Transylvania should be included in the treaty."

The foreign relations of his empire being thus in every other quarter settled, Selim now devoted himself to the carrying on of hostilities against Persia. In all previous campaigns by the Ottomans against the Persian heretics, the greatest difficulties had arisen from the difficulty of transit experienced by the invading army, and especially by the extreme difficulty of keeping up the commissariat supplies. In each campaign the invaders, in addition to the long march across the whole length of Asia Minor, had to traverse the deserts of Upper Armenia before they reached the Persian frontier. And as the tactic of the Shahs was invariably to decline a pitched battle, but to retire from stronghold to stronghold as the Ottomans approached, devastating as they receded, and leaving not a blade of standing corn to be collected for the army by the Akindji foragers, the difficulties of the campaigners had been further augmented tenfold. To obviate in future these otherwise insuperable difficulties, the Grand Vizier Sokolli conceived the stupendous design of cutting a canal between the rivers Don and Volga, thereby effecting a communication between

the Black and the Caspian Seas. The Don flows into the Sea of Azov, which encloses, along with the Black Sea, the peninsula of the Crimea. The Volga falls into the [Caspian Sea at Astrakhan. At one point the distance between the two rivers, both of great breadth, volume, and navigable capacity, is only thirty English miles. . Here Sokolli resolved to cut a c anal, by which an Ottoman force could be conveyed round to the southern shore of the Caspian, and landed in the province of Tabreez, the very centre and fairest portion of the Persian Empire. This was the revival of a project entertained by Selucus Nicator, one of the successors of Alexander of Macedon. In Mahometan estimation Selucus stands next to Iskander (Alexander) among "Old World Heroes." The Crimea was already a feudatory dependency of the Ottoman crown. Sokolli made it the basis of operations. The Khan of Crim Tartary with a large army of Tartars, along with a strong detachment of Janizaries was sent up the Don to commence the canal at Czaritzin. And a force equal in strength was sent across the land to besiege Astrakhan and obtain possession of the banks of the Volga. Astrakhan had been the seat of a Tartar Khanate or kingdom, but had been shortly before conquered by the Muscovite or Russian Czar, Iwan the Terrible. Russia had been, a hundred years before this, freed from its

servitude to the Tartars, who had ruled it for above two centuries, by Iwan Wassilowitch—who was to his country what Gustavus Ericson was to Sweden, what Wallace was to Scotland, what William Tell and Andrew Hofer were to Switzerland and the Tyrol. From that time to this it had rapidly increased in power. The most recent conquests of its crown were the Tartar Khanates of Casan and Astrakhan. A Russian garrison occupied Astrakhan. The siege of this town now was the occasion of the first collision between the Russian and Ottoman powers. And the power destined to be the principal agent in effecting Turkey's decline and fall, foreshadowed the future in their first encounter. The garrison of Astrakhan sallied on the besiegers, completely routed them, and at once and for ever put an end to Sokolli's magnificent project. A Russian army defeated, too, a host of Tartars in Turkish pay. The remains of the Turkish army returned and embarked on the Black Sea. A storm overtook them, and of the army which had set out the year before, only seven thousand survivors returned. The solitary advantage attendant upon this expedition was the acquisition of the allegiance of the Nigayan Tartars, in number thirty thousand. They were the vasals of Russia, but preferred the yoke of their Ottoman conquerors and co-rebelionists. "These," says Prince Cantemir, "had

habitations assigned them with the Bujak Tartars in Bessarabia, among whom, even at this day, are reckoned above eighteen thousand Tartars of Cazan, exactly resembling their brethren in the Russian empire, in language, looks, and manners." The territorial aggrandizement of the Russian empire has restored this tribe to the subjection of their former masters. Bessarabia, in which they settled, is one of the last conquests made by Russia from Turkey. It is on the Russian side of the Pruth, which separates it from the Principalities.

A treaty was concluded with Persia, and the Ottoman empire was at peace. An insurrection in Yemen, in Arabia, was quelled by the Governor of Egypt and Ozdemir, or *Iron Ogli*, whom Cantemir calls the Turkish Sampson. And Selim refused to assist the Spanish Moors, who had thrown off the hard yoke of their Castilian conqueror, and seized the province of Algarve. Selim had now relinquished the guidance of Sokolli. His minister was the base Lalla Mustapha, his creature and flatterer. A peace had been settled with Venice. Incited by Mustapha, Selim wantonly infringed it by the invasion of the lovely and fertile island of Cyprus. Xerxes had boastingly declared his determination to make the land which produced the Attic figs his own. Selim the Sot coveted Cyprus that he might

possess the vines which yielded the far-famed Cyprus wine. Another motive for the expedition was, that he might possess revenues to endow certain charitable institutions which he had built at Adrianople; for it was a law of the empire that no Sultan should found any endowments except from the revenues of conquests gained in his reign.

Cyprus lies at the further end of the Mediterranean, between Anatolia and Syria; it is a hundred and fifty miles long and sixty broad. It had, up till this time, known many masters; Richard Cœur de Lion gave it to Guy of Lusignan, king of Jerusalem, and it continued under the rule of his descendants and successors till in A.D. 1432 it was conquered from James by Malek, eighth of the Circassian Mameluke Sultans of Egypt; but it was ransomed on the condition of an annual tribute of forty thousand crowns. Civil war harassed Cyprus under its two next kings. James, one of the claimants for the crown, had married Katarina Cornelia, of a noble Venetian family; he obtained assistance from the Venetian republic and overthrew his rival. Dying without issue, Venice assumed it as a dependency.

The advice of Sokolli having been overruled in the Divan by the representations of Lalla, great preparations were set on foot by Selim for the enterprise. An ambassador was sent to Venice

to demand from the Senate the surrender of Cyprus. They indignantly refused, and prepared for its defence. The Pope, the King of Spain, and some of the states of Italy, promised assistance. In February, 1570, Selim sent a land force against the Venetian frontier. Lalla he put at the head of the armament for the reduction of Cyprus. The veteran Piale he made admiral of the fleet, of two hundred galleys and galliots, which guarded the shores, and lay ready to attack any fleet with Christian succour which might approach. Lalla first invested Nicosia the capital town. It resisted him all through the summer. He put his army into winter quarters, and recommenced the siege in the spring. Assault after assault failed, and it was only at last by artifice that Lalla effected the reduction of the place. The garrison, in number fourteen thousand, were slain, and great booty was acquired. Cyrina surrendered, but Famagosta, under Bragadino, the Venetian commandant, prepared for resistance. Mustapha, having received large reinforcements, formed the siege with two hundred thousand men. In a few days he had lost thirty thousand in assaults and by sallies by the garrison. He retired from the trenches, and sunk large mines. By these, the ramparts being on all sides riven and several breaches effected, Bragadino at last surrendered, having stipulated on behalf of the garrison for life

and liberty. Lalla basely broke the convention. The whole garrison was put to the sword. The brave Bragadino was led before Lalla. His ears were cut off. He was tortured with the most exquisite cruelty. Every indignity was heaped upon him. He was compelled to carry baskets full of earth and assist the Turkish engineers in the repairing of the ramparts. At last he was flayed alive and beheaded. His skin, stuffed with straw, was suspended from the yard-arm of a galley. The reduction of all Cyprus followed the capture of Famagosta.

The intelligence of the capture of Cyprus spread through Christendom. And a great confederacy was formed to assist the Venetians in avenging its loss, and, if possible in its recovery. Such defensive confederacies against Turkish aggression, were characteristic of the early modern, as the aggressive Crusades were of the mediæval, centuries. With the confederacies of the Slavonic states under the kings of Hungary and Hunyades they had commenced. In them the transition from the aggressive Crusade to the defensive Federation was effected. The contingent forces furnished by the Frankish powers, led by the Count de Nevers and Cardinal Julian, preserved in the Slavonic confederacies the Crusading element; while the fact that they were formed not so much for the curtailment of the

Ottoman power as for the prevention of its further spread, constituted them the first of those defensive confederacies which were from time to time formed by the Christians for the preservation of their lands and shores from the Moslem invaders. But they were always formed too late. Christendom would never awake from its apathy until some other great conquest had been achieved by the Turk, gained from some weak and unassisted Christian state.* Such was the case now. The Venetians were expelled, all the strongholds were taken, every field was subdued, and Cyprus was divided into Sandjaks, Ziamets and Timars, before a Christian confederacy was formed for the assistance of Venice.

Pope Pius V. headed the Christian league, which ended in a discomfiture of the Turks more signal than any which had befallen them since Timour the Tartar destroyed the army of Bajazet on the plain of Angora. The other members of the league were Spain, Venice and the Knights of Malta. The fleet mustered at Messina. Spain sent seventy galleys, the Knights six, Savoy three. Marc Colonna, the Pope's kinsman, commanded twelve Roman galleys. Admiral Veniero brought from Venice a hundred and eight gallies, six galleasses, two tall ships, and a great many small galliots. The six galleasses were of the largest tonnage, and mounted the heaviest guns

of any ships ever yet brought into action in the Mediterranean. The crews of all the vessels had been selected with the greatest care. Besides seamen, twenty thousand soldiers were on board the fleet. Many princes served as volunteers; among others, the Prince of Parma, afterwards the greatest general of his age, and whom England knew as the commander of the Armada which perished on her shores. Cervantes, the author of *Don Quixote*, served as a private soldier in one of the Spanish vessels, and lost his left hand. Don John of Austria, natural son of Charles V., and only twenty-four years of age, commanded the whole fleet. There was at first a great want of unanimity in the Christian councils. It was debated whether they should give the enemy battle, or besiege some town. Requirenez, Great Commander of Castile, and vice admiral of the Spanish fleet, counselled the siege of Durazzo, or some other maritime town in the Turkish dominions. But the party in favour of a naval engagement with the Ottoman fleet, which lay in the Gulf of Corinth, was the more numerous. And the council ruled accordingly. At Cephalonia, they learned that the Turkish fleet was drawn up at Lepanto, a short way within the northern entrance to the Gulf of Corinth. This had already been the scene of the most important naval fight in ancient history. At

Actium, sixteen hundred years before, "the cantle of the world was lost with very ignorance." Here Mark Anthony "kissed away kingdoms and provinces,"

"Bocchus, the king of Lybia ; Archelaus,
Of Cappadocia ; Philadelphos, king
Of Paphlagonia ; the Thracian king, Adallas ;
King Malchus, of Arabia ; king of Pont ;
Herod of Jewry ; Mithridates, king
Of Comagene ; Polemon and Amintas,
The kings of Mede and Lycaonia, with a
More larger list of sceptres."*

The Turkish fleet numbered three hundred and thirty-five sail. It was commanded by the Kapitan Pasha, or Lord High Admiral, Mouezinzade Ali Pasha. The garrisons of the towns in the neighbourhood were on board, in number twelve thousand Janizaries and four thousand other troops. The Turks sailed out of the Gulf of Lepanto, and steering forward formed in order of battle off the Isles of Curzolari, the ancient Echinades, half way between Lepanto and Patras. Ali himself, with Pertau a pirate, commanded the centre, Mohammed Bey the right, and Ouloudj, King or Beyler Bay of Algiers, the left. Don John arranged his fleet in the form of a crescent. He commanded the centre, Barbadico, the Venetian Proveditor General, the right, and Doria, nephew of the admiral of Charles V., and op-

* Antony and Cleopatra.

ponent of Barbarossa, the left wing. The Marquis of Santa Croce commanded a strong reserve. Colonna and Veniero were in the centre with Don John, each in his flag ship. The ships of the knights of Malta occupied the same honourable position. Together, they formed a small squadron in advance of the main line. The six huge Venetian galleasses, too, lay at equal distances all along the line, in advance.

When the signal was given, the Turks with a hideous cry advanced, and attacked the Venetian galleasses. But the Venetian gunners fired steadily upon them, first from the forecastles, and, as the Turkish line passed them, with their whole broadsides. The line was broken, but was reformed within the galleasses and advanced against the main Christian line. But many of the galleys had been sunk by the heavy fire from the galleasses. Ali steered for Don John's galley, and ran in upon her with such violence that the beaks of both vessels were broken. Both vessels were manned with Arquebusiers, and as they lay yard-arm to yard-arm, each crew again and again attempted to board. Thrice the Christians boarded, and thrice were they driven back. Veniero seeing Don John's position, hastened to assist him; but Pertau intercepted him. Veniero sunk his vessel. Pertau escaped in the long-boat. The galleasses had turned round and poured their

heavy broadsides upon the Turks. Mohammed with his squadron engaged them. But he was shot, and his ships put about. For three hours the galleys of Ali and Don John had been engaged. The death of Ali put an end to the combat. The reserve now moved forward, and the whole Christian line re-forming, broke the Ottoman centre, and very soon routed the whole centre and right wing. On the Turkish left Ouloudj had outflanked Doria, and had early in the day taken twelve gallics. Doria had retreated before him. Both squadrons were fairly out at sea. When Ouloudj heard of the defeat of the other portions of the fleet, and when the Maltese galleys sailed against him in flank, he used his advantage to effect his escape. His forty ships were all of the Turkish fleet that escaped.

The news of the battle of Lepanto filled Europe with joy. At Venice all prisoners were set at liberty, and Justina's day, on which it was gained, was made a festival for ever. A great quantity of money was coined with the impression of the battle. At Constantinople the deepest melancholy reigned. For three days Selim neither ate, drank, nor held intercourse with any one. On the fourth day he took up the Koran and opened at the passage, "In the name of God clement and merciful, I grieve for the victory which the Europeans obtained over the inhabitants

of the earth; gladness shall not be given them any more for victory hereafter." There is in sorrow a wondrous purification. The trial raised Selim to manliness and decision. He set himself earnestly to obviate the results of the defeat. This he the more easily accomplished, that the Christians made not the slightest attempt to follow up their advantage. After wrangling for three weeks over the division of the spoil, the fleet separated, each ship steering to the port from which it had sailed. Beyond the destruction of its vessels and the loss of large treasure, the Ottomans suffered in no wise from the battle. No descent was made upon any of their coasts. No town was besieged. No insurrection was excited in any of their Christian provinces. No attempt was made to recover Cyprus. One of the Turkish prisoners at Venice hearing in conversation the loss sustained by his country at the battle of Lepanto balanced against the loss Venice had sustained by the capture of Cyprus, said that "the loss of this fleet was to Selim as if a man should shave his beard, which would soon grow again; whereas the loss of Cyprus was to the republic as the loss of an arm, which once cut off could never be recovered."

Selim's beard quickly began to grow again. By next spring Ouloudj commanded a fleet of two hundred vessels. It scoured the seas, de-

feating every Christian squadron it encountered. Venice sued for a peace. The terms were favourable to Turkey. Cyprus was recognized as an Ottoman province, and the money spent in its conquest paid by Venice.

In the years 1573 and 1574, Ouloudj with a fleet conquered Tunis, and the army of Selim Wallachia, both which becomê Turkish provinces.

On the 28th day of Shahan, or 9th of December, 1574, Selim having drunk an extra bottle of Cyprus wine, fell as he went to the bath, fractured his skull and died. He was fifty-two years old, and had reigned eight years. The appropriate designation of Selim the Sot is *maudlin*. Cantemir says, "It is certain that he put on a great appearance of religion in public; and if any time his actions seemed to deviate from reason, it was ascribed rather to divine inspiration than the vice of drunkenness."

Sultan Selim having been buried, after the imperial wont, in a turbeh or turret, and his interment having been attended by the customary obsequies, orations, court mourning, and the like, his son, Sultan Amurath III. began to reign. During Selim's reign many of the staff of statesmen and soldiers educated by Solyman had continued to live, and to influence more or less the imperial counsels. They were now fast dying out. Government, its responsibilities, and its

possibilities of failure, were thrown back upon the Sultanate. The supporting staff, in other words, the policy and organization of Solyman, was crumbling away. The reign, too, of Selim had gone far to destroy, or at least diminish the prestige gained for his empire by Solyman.

Amurath III. was twenty-eight years of age when he left Magnesia, the seat of his provincial government, and assumed at Constantinople the supreme power. His first act was to appease the Janizaries, by distributing among them the donation which they claimed at the inauguration of each new reign. On the first day of his reign too, he had slain before him, and before the eyes of their mothers, his five brothers, Mustapha, Solyman, Abdallah, Ozman, and Jehangir. One of the mothers drew forth a poignard, plunged it into her breast, and fell dead upon the body of her child; "at which tragic sight," we are informed, "Amurath let fall some tears."

Henry of Valois had been chosen by the nobles of Poland, as their King. But having succeeded to the regal power in France, he resigned the Polish crown. No less potentates than the Austrian Emperor and the Duke of Muscovy, or Czar of Russia, became candidates. Amurath, true to the hereditary policy of his house, resolved to have a hand in guiding the choice of the Poles. He recommended Stephen Battori, Waywode of Wal-

lachia. They virtually consented. They elected Ann, of the noble Jagellonian family, Queen, on condition that she married Stephen. This concession to the suggestion of Amurath, was in part a concession to the wishes of the grandson of Solyman. But we can with feasibility suppose that the Poles readily chose an expedient which delivered them from their previous somewhat critical dilemma, which relieved them from the necessity of expressing a preference for the representative of the houses either of Hapsburg or Wassilowitsch, whose territories defined their northern and southern frontiers.

Amurath entered into a league with Stephen and the other Christian states, by which he provided peace on his European frontier, while he continued the hereditary war with Persia. Lalla Mustapha, the favourite of his father, who had assumed the place of Sokolli in the royal councils, was made leader of the expedition. Want of supplies and forage had obstructed and ultimately rendered nugatory every previous expedition against Persia. Mustapha made it his first care to prevent, as far as was practicable, the recurrence of this evil. On his march he built large magazines, which he fortified and stocked with grain. Khaldiran was the first city which fell before the Turks. The reduction of Tifis and Shirvan followed. A large Persian army was,

almost to a man, destroyed in a peninsula between the rivers Aras and Kanak. Georgia was overrun and conquered, its conquest being rendered easy by the voluntary submission and assistance of many of its chiefs. In effecting these successes, the Turks suffered severely. Frequent defeats, indeed, alternated with their victories. Seventy thousand was the number of their slain. Amurath, enraged at the trifling nature of the successes effected, and the large sacrifices which they cost, changed, time after time, his commanders. Mustapha was degraded to the rank of a private soldier; Sinan, Ferhad, and Osman were in turn appointed to, and deposed from, the supreme command. In 1580, the Persians sued for peace. Georgia, and the other conquests made by the Turks, were formally ceded to them, the Persian Shah giving up all right to rule them.

The troops who had reduced the foreign enemies of the empire, became, upon the establishment of peace, its intestine foes. The pay of the Janizaries was in arrear. The grossest venality had been practised by Amurath in the appointment of their officers. They openly revolted. The Englishman Rycaut, says, that during their insurrection, a fire happening, they refused to quench it, and even hindered the people from doing it; whereby seven mosques, five great

khans, or inns, fifteen thousand houses, besides warehouses and shops, were consumed. Being incited by the political enemies of Mahomet Pasha, the Defterdar, or High Treasurer, they accused him of debasing the coin and paying them with it. They surrounded his palace. Escaping, he fled to the palace of the Sultan. The Janizaries surrounded it, and demanded Mahomet's life. On the Sultan's refusal, they guarded all the avenues, and threatened to murder Selim and his whole court. Selim was compelled to comply. The Defterdar was delivered into their power, and Sinan, the favourite of the army, appointed vizier.

In this reign an ambassador was first sent from England to the Porte. Amurath wrote to Queen Elizabeth a long and magniloquent epistle, in reply to her request for his assistance in her reprisals against Spain, after the defeat and wreck of its Armada. Amurath addresses Elizabeth as, "Most Honourable Matron of the Christian Religion, Mirror of Chastity, adorned with the brightness of sovereignty and power among the most chaste women which serve Jesus, Mistress of great kingdoms, reputed of greatest majesty and praise among the Nazarites, Elizabeth, Queen of England." The letter goes on to say, that Queen Elizabeth's Orator, "resident in our stately and magnificent court," had presented a certain

writing, certifying the war made by England upon the King of Spain, for the abating and breaking of his forces. That it being the intent and wish of Queen Elizabeth that the Spanish ships which go and come from the Indies, be embarrassed and stayed from that navigation, and that thereby the precious stones, spices, gold and silver, esteemed worth many millions, whereby the aforesaid King, as with a great treasure enriched, had means to molest and trouble all other Christian princes, and it being the request of Queen Elizabeth's Orator that the Sultan should send out his imperial fleet against Spain, being assured that the King of Spain could not be able easily to withstand it, having already received from it a great overthrow; that all these things being well understood and laid up in deep remembrance; yet, forasmuch as wars had for many years past been made in Persia, and as the satisfying of the desire of the imperial heart (the conquest of Persia) was not completed, that not till it was conquered could due provision be assigned unto all such things as Elizabeth had requested or desired. "Wherefore, if you shall sincerely and purely continue the bond of amity and friendship with our high court, you shall find no more secure refuge or safer harbour of good will or love. So at length all things shall go well, and according to your heart's desire in your wars with

Spain, under the shadow of our happy throne." Elizabeth had adroitly taken advantage of the hatred of image worship which characterizes Mahometanism. The Ottomam Moslem and the English Protestant were at one in this matter. She designated herself, "The unconquered and most powerful Defender of the true faith against the Idolaters who falsely profess the name of Christ."*

Before commencing his war with Persia, Amurath had concluded a peace with the Austrian emperor, Maximilian. Under his son and successor, Rudolph, sharp hostilities commenced at various points on the Turkish frontier. These soon ripened into a war; and Amurath was not reluctant to find employment for his ungovernable Janizaries. Large armies were marched to the frontier. They soon commenced the devastation of the territories of Austria and Venice. In the

* A fear is apt to possess the minds of Protestants that Popish influence may take advantage of the French alliance with the Porte to proselytize among the Turks; and this, especially, when we call to mind the large influence which the French Jesuits, in the reign of Louis XIV., acquired in the Greek church in Turkey. The historic episode given in the text above, dissipates such a fear. Dr. Burgess, incumbent of Upper Chelsea, who has travelled in Turkey, in one of the lectures delivered (1854-5) in Exeter Hall, before the Young Mens' Christian Association, says: "Never will the race that has worshipped for twelve hundred years without an image, accept the idolatry of Greek or Latin Christianity."

second campaign, Szigeth the capital of Croatia, a strongly fortified city, was taken. But at this point the tide of success turned. Town after town was lost by the Turks. They were compelled to retreat along their whole position. Transylvania, Moldavia, and Wallachia seized the occasion to revolt, and to throw off their allegiance. At the same time a revolt arose in the provinces between the Black and the Caspian Seas, recently taken from Persia. In the midst of his difficulties, Amurath died. He had lived fifty years, and reigned twenty. The sole gain of his reign was Georgia and the circumjacent territory. Its loss was the discovery by the Christian powers that a new era had succeeded the rule of Solyman the Magnificent, and that the helm in the Ottoman state had passed into very different hands.

Amurath was simple, listless, indolent, and effeminate. He was ruled by women, by his mother, his sister, his Sultanas, and the mistress of ceremonies, or purveyor of beauties for his seraglio.

Amurath's beauties had borne him a hundred and three children. Of the survivors, twenty were sons. There were, therefore, according to established precedent, nineteen for the young Sultan Mahomet to kill. The Sultana, his mother, had sent for him, immediately upon his father's death, from his province in Anatolia. In the first day of his reign he put all his brothers to death. Seven

ladies of the harem, too, who were pregnant, he ordered to be drowned. Mahomet III. was twenty-three years old when he commenced to reign. He was another Selim II. or Amurath III. It seemed now that the Ottoman dynasty was to be as distinguished for feebleness and the absence of administrative ability and energy, for the want, indeed, of the merest spirit and courage, as from Othman to Solyman it had been for the wondrous excellences of its every representative as soldiers and rulers. Mahomet knew no pleasure but the base ease of his seraglio. When he did yield so far to the solicitations of his advisers, as to take an active personal part in the duties of administration, it was only that, by combating an else unovercome contingency of unfavourable circumstances, he might the sooner, and with the greater certainty of no further interruptions, bury himself again among his wines and wives in the seraglio.

His father Amurath had died just when, after a succession of petty losses, a confederacy of hostile powers and revolted provinces was threatening the very integrity of his dominions. His death in the crisis filled up the cup of Ottoman calamity, and increased and ratified the evils which the young Sultan had to meet and avert. But no Sultan now took the field in person. He might by caprice depose a commander, or advance a

favourite to the highest position. This was all the Sultan's share in the conduct of war. Neither did he from Constantinople, as from the centre of operations, direct and mould the enterprises carried on and the defences maintained on various frontiers. There again Viziers and ministers, and also, in no small degree, Sultanas, ruled administratively, and saved the Sultan the trouble of governing, as his Pashas relieved him of the labour of leading.

Mahomet bestowed upon the army a donative unprecedentedly large. But this did not secure him against their revolt. Twice in the first few weeks of his reign did the household troops rebel. In the second instance every effort failed of the reduction to order of the Spahis. It was only by leading against them their hated rivals the Janizaries, that they were at last quelled. This was policy singularly short-sighted. How insane to introduce a still further cause of hatred between the two forces in which in the field the greatest confidence was to be reposed. We find, a few years after, the occasion for a favourable battle with the Christians lost by a bloody fight in the Turkish camp between the Janizaries and Spahis.

Rudolph matured and ratified his alliance with the princes of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Transylvania. At the very beginning of Mahomet's reign the Austrians took Weitze, and defeated four thousand Turks near Raab. The Wallachians

in successful sieges gained large treasures. The Transylvanians took Pondesia, Nicopolis, Killa, and Rebnitki, routed a force of twelve thousand Tartars, and massacred a division of Turks, numbering eight thousand. The Waywode of Wallachia defeated Tartars, Turkish feudatory auxiliaries, in three pitched battles, slew twelve thousand, and drove the rest before him. He took the towns of Bender, Schinitz, Tigna, and Mekhnis. Every effort used by the government of the Porte to dissolve the confederacy failed. Every common success ratified the bonds of its connexion. Every town along all the Turkish frontier was besieged. So severely did the garrisons suffer from famine, that the women who followed the camp, were forced to eat their own children. A terrible plague slew tens of thousands. Of eighty-five thousand men, who in the first year of Malomet's reign marched into Hungary, only eight thousand returned.

In the next year, the Archduke Matthias took the field with ninety thousand Austrians. In Wallachia, Ferhad was routed with a loss of eight thousand. The whole Turkish army began to murmur, and especially to demand the presence of their Sultan at their head. Waswode Giezi, one of the oldest Janizaries, told the Sultan that his ministers had imposed on him, and made him dishonourably violate the peace. He told him

that Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia, the granaries of the empire, were shut up, and that no provisions could, as usual, come either from the east or the west, by the Danube, while his mighty army would perish in Hungary for want of bread. But Mahomet would not leave his palace. The advice of his mother, the Sultana Valide, his most influential counsellor, who desired his constant presence under her influence, backed his own very strong inclination to remain at home.

Meantime Count Mansfeldt invested Gran. After destroying a Turkish army sent to raise the siege, he took the town. The reduction of Wissgrade by the Austrians and of Lippa, by the Prince of Transylvania, followed. And a large army of Turks and Tartars was defeated before Batoska. Renewed solicitations were made to the cowardly Mahomet to re-inspirit his troops by his presence at their head. But still he could not tear himself away from his pleasures. Another course of failure attended the Turkish arms. Sinan Pasha crossed the Danube only to be driven back across its waters with great loss. The Pasha of Bosnia, with twenty thousand men, was routed in Croatia. And the Imperialist victorious army, pressing forward, took fifteen villages and the castle of Varivivar. The Zaku- lians, the ancient Siculi, feudatories of the Turks,

who dwelt to the north-east of Transylvania, threw off the yoke and brought forty thousand men into the field in their own pay. The Austrians and their confederates pushed forward. Tergovista they stormed. Bucharest they found abandoned by its garrison. The Prince of Transylvania took Zorga with a loss of two hundred and fifty men. Its fruitless defence cost the Turks twenty-six thousand lives. To add to the national reverses, the Georgians revolted. Another vassal tribe in Transylvania transferred their allegiance to the Austrian Emperor.

At last Mahomet was awakened from his lethargy; but not till his Janizaries refused to march to the frontier except under his leadership. After three days of general fasting and humiliation, he left Constantinople. His egress was performed in imperial state. All his Pashas and ministers, and the ambassadors of France and England, attended him. The sacred green standard of Mahomet the Prophet, which his own hand had held, and which had been acquired by Selim, when, on the conquest of Egypt, he usurped the title to the Caliphate, and the custodianship of the holy Arabian cities, now for the first time waved over an Ottoman army. It has only since been produced from its repository in great emergencies of the Turkish state. Under its shadow the religious enthusiasm and the mar-

tial spirit of the soldiers revived. They forgot their defeats and were eager again to be engaged. The Transylvanians had formed the siege of Temesvar. The Turks appeared and forced them to raise the siege, and relieved the garrison. The Christians had taken Erlau in the last campaign. Mahomet marched to besiege it. His army marched, and he sat at their head on a camel. This, his mere personal presence, was the amount of his contribution to the exertions his people made to retrieve their losses. And even this he most unwillingly gave. Once and again, using the pretext of some trifling repulse, he would have ordered a retreat, and bled him back to his harem, had not his officers remonstrated, and prevailed on him to stay. Hassan and Cicala, along with the soldier and historian Siaddeddin, were really the leaders of the enterprise. Cicala especially, as we shall see, contributed to its success. The life of this man, a renegade, and Christian born, is, in the main, the life of many of the most successful leaders of the Turks by land and sea.

Cicala was the son of a noble of Genoa, who had settled in Sicily. His father co-operated with the Knights of Malta in the piratical reprisals which they carried on against the Turkish coasts. At the sack of Modon, in Greece, in 1531, the Viscount of Cicala obtained, as a part of his share

of the plunder, a fair Turkish girl. He became deeply enamoured of her, and married her, after having her baptized into the Christian faith. Cicala continued, after his marriage, his naval descents upon the Ottoman coasts. His sons he trained to the same life. And they accompanied him in his enterprises. The youngest, Scipio, was, in his eighteenth year, present with his father in the attack on the island of Djerbel. Father and son were taken by the Turks, and carried to Constantinople. The father soon died. The son became attached to the imperial household of Solyman. The Ottoman Sultan has ever been strictly autocratic. No aristocracy, with vested rights, has ever opposed any obstacle to the promotion to the highest dignities, however rapid, and however capricious, by the Sultan, of any favourite or dependant, from whatever rank or nation sprung. The beauty of the Sicilian captive boy attracted the notice of Solyman. And his talents for command ratified the Sultan's favourable impression, and enabled Cicala to take advantage of the occasion which fortune had afforded him. He rose to each dignity of the state in succession, in the reigns of Solyman, Selim, Amurath, and Mahomet. In his disposition of the forces before Erlau, Mahomet assigned to Cicala the command of the reserve, forty thousand strong.

On the 23rd of October, 1596, the Christians offered battle. A skirmish ensued in which the Turks were worsted. Next day the Turks had the advantage. On the third day both armies were prepared for a pitched and decisive battle. Victory perched upon the Christian banners at first. They broke through the Turkish lines, captured the artillery, and penetrated to the imperial tent. Mahomet prevented from flight only by the urgent entreaties of his officers, sat upon his camel, inanimate, clutching the sacred standard, of which he was the heaven-appointed custodian. The Turkish officers gave up all for lost. And all would have been lost, had not Cicala, who had kept his reserve of forty thousand men perfectly fresh, charged upon the Christians, when they were rejoicing in their just gained victory, and ransacking the imperial treasures. The Christians were beaten back, without an attempt at resistance, into the marshes ere while by them victoriously crossed. Fifty thousand fell. But though the day was the Turks', it cost them more lives. Sixty thousand of them lay on the field of their double fight. A peace was concluded with the Austrian Archduke, and with the heads of the revolted provinces.

Mahomet returned to his pleasures, but his troubles were not yet ended. Caramania had now for some reigns ceased to harass by constant

revolt the Ottoman Sultans. But the Pasha, whom Mahomet had appointed over it, was a man of ambition. He fanned the slumbering embers of the nationality of his province, and re-incited the bitter hatred to the Ottomans which had characterized its former inhabitants. He enkindled a revolt, and himself headed it. He defeated the troops sent against him, and took the city of Iconium. Betrayed by his secretary, Scrivano, he was carried to Constantinople, and put to death with exquisite torments. But Scrivano himself re-organized the insurrection, and secured the alliance of the Georgians, and of the inhabitants of the Pashalic of Bagdad. Scrivano died suddenly, but his brother, Hassan Bey, assumed his position. He defeated an Ottoman army, of a hundred and fifty thousand, sent against him.

The Janizaries now revolted, and were only pacified by the mediation of Cicala, and by an enormous largess. The Christians, too, again took the field, and took Pesth and Buda. The donative to the Janizaries had almost exhausted the imperial coffers. A levy by the rebel Hassan, exacted from the provinces which he subjugated, while it made provision for the further continuance of hostilities by the insurgents, further diminished the national resources, on which there were now so many demands. Upon the capture of Brusa by the rebels, Mahomet was forced to

the humiliation, of offering them an advantageous peace, confirming to them their conquests, and recognizing their comparative independence and immunity from the common burdens of the nation. In avoiding one evil, Mahomet precipitated himself into another. The Janizaries, indignant at the dishonourable peace, formed a conspiracy to dethrone the Sultan, and to set up his son, Mahmoud, in his room. But Mahomet discovered the conspiracy before it was ripe, and frustrated it by the murder of his son, and of his Sultana, the mother of the prince, who was a party to the design. From his empire, in this state of intestine and foreign difficulty, Mahomet, by his decease, suddenly departed, in the beginning of the year 1604. Ricant says, "He was altogether given to sensuality and voluptuous pleasure, the marks whereof he carried about with him in a foul, unwieldy, and overgrown body, unfit for any princely office or function, and a mind thereto answerable; wholly given over unto idleness, pleasure, and excess—no small means for the shortening of his days, which he ended in obloquy, unregarded of his subjects, and but by few, or none of them, lamented."

The uncurbed rebellious spirit of the Janizaries, the hostile armies on the frontier, the half-allayed rebellions in the further provinces, the emptiness of the treasury, and the general depression of the

spirit of the nation, made the post of the successor to the throne far from enviable. What a misnomer would "Lord of his age," accorded unanimously to a Sultan only forty years dead, now have been if applied to him who inherited his sceptre. How different had been the three last Sultans, Selim II., Amurath III., and Mahomet III., from their ancestors of the same names,—how different from the subjugator of Egypt, the victors at the Mazizza, and at Varna, and the captor of Constantinople!

CHAPTER VIII.

MAHOMET had had born to him seven children. Three daughters were married to Pashas. The eldest son he had strangled, when a conspiracy was formed to raise him to the throne. The second son had died a natural death. There remained two survivors, Achmet and Mustapha. Achmet, being fifteen years old, ascended the throne by the title of Achmet I. He did not put his brother Mustapha to death. He was quite imbecile. To the religious respect paid to mad persons by the Turks, as much as the clemency of the young Sultan, may be attributed the sparing of his brother's life.

The Turks had, certainly, at this epoch, great necessity for a "Coming Man." The wish was father to the thought. The young Achmet was welcomed as having shown, young as he was, signs of spirit and resolution, which distinguished his character from that of his predecessors. His reported similitude to Mahomet II., the conqueror of Constantinople, was accepted as an omen favourable to his reign. His first measures were characterized by prudence and decision. To t

Spahis he distributed ten crowns a man, and to each Janizary, thirty. He augmented, too, prospectively their pay, by an increase of five aspers a-day to the Spahis, and one to the Janizaries. His grandmother had engrossed a large share of the government in the two last reigns, by her large influence with her husband and son. Achmet dismissed her from the palace, and compelled her to retire into private life. He had a ministry to choose. He appointed as Grand Vizier, Murad, who, in the former reign, as Pasha of Cairo, had governed his province with firmness and moderation, and had rendered a faithful account of its revenues. These arrangements effected, Achmet, in a splendid pageant, showed himself to his subjects. Seated in a chariot, and in a magnificent robe, he paraded the streets of Constantinople, and was girt with the sabre of Othman, in the presence of his people.

From his father Achmetin inherited a war with Austria and a war with Persia. Negotiations had been commenced for the settlement of the former. These he ordered to be continued; but his envoys, not conducting the preliminary arrangements in good faith, and the Austrians discovering the treachery, the scheme proved abortive and was broken off. The Turks recommenced warlike operations. An attempt on Lippa failed. The castle of Somnin was stormed by night and burnt.

Pesth was taken, and Gran besieged. But a successful sally from the garrison compelled them to raise the siege and retire. Success on each side was nearly equal. But the intestine commotions which marked the commencement of the Thirty Years' War, compelled the emperor to arrange a peace. Before it was concluded, so far had the alienation of his Hungarian subjects gone, they were fighting side by side with the Turks against the imperialist army. In 1604 an assembly of the Romish clergy at Presburg, without the consent of the nobility, published a decree, condemning all Protestants in Hungary to the stake, or perpetual banishment. Against this decree the states of the kingdom made their protest, and declared that they would by arms defend themselves, if any attempt were made on their liberty of worship. Notwithstanding, Beligiosa seized upon all the Protestant churches, and upon the lands and effects of those who professed the reformed faith,—forbidding the reading of the Bible and the performance of worship by Protestants, and ordering the refusal of interment to the bodies of heretics. The Protestants rose in resistance, and at last, seeking the alliance, and offering their co-operation to the Turks, compelled the Emperor to sue for peace. The treaty was signed in 1606. Each empire retained its pristine territorial demarcations. The annual payment

by the Emperor to the Sultan was done away with.

The religious and political troubles which agitated not only Germany, but every other country of Europe in the early part of the seventeenth century, were fortunate for the Turks. The event proved that the resources of the empire were sufficiently tested and employed by the single contest with Persia, now ruled by the great Shah Abbas, which yet remained.* To the war with Persia was added the yet unquelled revolt of the western portions of Anatolia. General after general failed in subjugating the insurgents. At last Cicala, the Sicilian renegade, reduced the rebellious provinces to a hollow and apparent subjection, and led his army into Persia, an abyss which, during a century and a half, had engulfed so many noble and well-appointed Ottoman armies. It was not long before Cicala was forced to retreat within the Turkish boundary, leaving thirty thousand dead, and all his cannon behind. All the while the Shah Abbas was regaining, all along his frontier, the losses of previous reigns. Georgia had already been recovered. To it Abbas added the provinces of Irak and Bagdad. He generously abstained from arrogating the full advantages of his successes. In a peace ratified with Achmet, terms, far less humiliating than the circumstances warranted, were arranged.

The Turkish policy in commercial matters had all along been singularly liberal. Queen Elizabeth of England had obtained from the Porte in a previous reign, a promise of protection to her subjects trading to the Archipelago and the Levant. Other Christian nations had obtained similar privileges. France and England and other powers had regularly accredited ambassadors at the Ottoman court. In 1611, in the reign of Achmet, an ambassador from Holland was for the first time sent to Constantinople. A treaty was concluded by which the Sultan engaged to set at liberty all Dutch slaves in his dominions. And Dutch merchants obtained similar privileges to those enjoyed by the traders of other nations.

In various other portions of those of his dominions other than in the provinces reconquered by the Persians, did the Turks sustain losses in the reign of Achmet I. In 1613, Cosmo de Medicis, Grand Duke of Tuscany, sent a fleet against Aglimon in Caramania, to revenge the loss of a ship and forty men, taken by pirates of that town. The Florentines sacked and burned the town, and carried off the inhabitants as slaves, having seized, too, twelve vessels which they found in the harbour. In the same year a Portuguese fleet from Goa infested the Red Sea, and took Aden.

In this year the Turkish theologians propounded

a startling doctrine. Achmet ordered all the dogs in Constantinople to be transported to Scutari, on the opposite side of the Bosphorus, with an allowance of bread and carrion for their maintenance. But by an after decision they were carried to an isle sixteen miles from the capital, where they all perished for want of food. The lives of the dogs, though held unclean by the Turks, were deemed of such importance, that the Sultan demanded of the Mufti, whether it was lawful to kill them. To which the head of the Ottoman church answered, "that every dog had a soul, and therefore it was not lawful to kill them."

In 1617 Achmet sent a Chaus or ambassador to Paris, with letters to demand of Henry IV. that justice might be done to the Moors of Granada, expelled from Spain, who had been wronged of their goods, as well as in their persons, in their passage to France. In the same year Achmet died, having lived twenty-nine years, and reigned fourteen. His character as a ruler was little, if at all, superior to that of his three predecessors. A certain mercurial, but impractical and ineffective, energy characterized him. In clemency he outshone his precursors. In sensuality he rivalled them. His favourite sports were hawking and hunting. He maintained in Greece and Anatolia forty thousand falconers, and nearly as many huntsmen. He built at Constantinople a mosque

which, though smaller, excels St. Sophia in magnificence. In it he placed two hundred gold tablets, each set with sixty-one diamonds, whereon were engraved the names of the prophets, with sentences out of the Koran, every one of which cost sixty dollars. So much money was expended on this structure, that on an exact calculation, every dram of stone or mortar was found to cost three aspers. "What then," says Cantemir, "must the gold, gildings, painting, wood, and iron-work have cost?" It excites no wonder that the troops in his reign were ill-paid, and that he left the treasury as empty as he found it.

Achmet, we have seen, upon his accession did not imbrue his hands in the blood of his brother. From the customary fratricide he was restrained by Mustapha's incapacity, almost idiocy. Consciousness that from his surviving no fears of competitorship for the sovereignty could be generated, and more especially the respect for those labouring under any aberration of intellect, which prevails among all Mahometan nations, rendered, in Achmet's opinion, the murder of his brother unnecessary. Achmet left seven sons; but the eldest being only fourteen years of age, Achmet on his death-bed declared his brother Mustapha his successor. And the Mufti, or head of the national religion, the Ulema, or high college of priests, and the Viziers, or principal officers of state

accepted the imperial decision, and placed Mustapha on the throne. The incapacity of Sultan Mustapha was apparent immediately upon his accession. "He was chosen as Sultan," Rycaut says, "as a contemplative and inoffensive man." In this expression much is contained. Much can be gathered from it. It tells that the immediately previous Sultans had ruled so ill, so inefficiently, that the supreme, religious, and civil functionaries resolved, in a great measure, to take the rule into their own hands; and that, in order to compass this, they effected the accession to the throne of a "contemplative and inoffensive man," a Sultan without energy or administrative skill, who would only formally execute his imperial functions, ratify the decisions of his Divan, sign warrants and commissions, and relinquish all the government to his court. It tells, too, that the Turkish people had ceased to regard their Sultan with awe and respectful affection, and that they were prepared to connive at or submit to the assumption by an oligarchy of Beys and Pashas of all the functions which had been exercised by Othman, Bajazet, and Solyman. By this single fact as a standard, which one line of Rycaut's history indicates, we can measure the declension of the Turkish power, measure especially its domestic decadence, that is, the disrespect into which,

civilly, in Turkey itself, the supreme power had fallen.

The Ulema and the Divan then accepted of Sultan Mustapha, as being "a contemplative and inoffensive man." He was twenty-five years of age at his accession, had spent his time in splendid but strict durance, had devoted himself to the study of Arabic, which constitutes, along with Persian, the *classic* language of the East, and was addicted to the lowest lusts. In every act of his short reign he indicated his incapacity to rule. One act almost caused a rupture with France.

Prince Koreski, a Pole, had in the last reign been taken prisoner in Moldavia. He refused to turn Mahometan, and was imprisoned in a castle on the shore of the Black Sea. The fellow-occupant of his cell was Rigault, a Frenchman. Rigault maintained a clandestine correspondence with his fellow-countryman Martin, secretary to the French Embassy at Constantinople. Martin had become enamoured of a young Polish lady, who, along with her mother and maid, was held prisoner by the Turks. With the intention of marrying the lady, he endeavoured to compass their freedom, and succeeded in ransoming them by a payment to the Sultan of two thousand five hundred crowns. After the return of the mother

and daughter to their home and Poland, the father refused to accede to the arrangement, and prohibited the marriage of his daughter to the generous Frenchman. The love-sick Martin, full of his disappointment, could not forbear confiding the tale to his friend Rigault. Rigault related it to his fellow-prisoner. Koreski possessed great influence in his own land, and he caused Rigault to convey to Martin an assurance that if their escape from prison was brought about, Martin should not pine long for the lady of his love. Martin with joy and eagerness set to work to fulfil his share of the compact. He sent a Greek priest to visit the prisoners. The priest concealed in his long robes a long piece of packthread. That being let down over night from the window of their cell, the priest, standing at the base of the wall, attached to it a rope ladder, which the prisoners drew up, and by it effected their departure. They were searched for everywhere by Mustapha's police. And it having transpired that Martin had maintained a correspondence with his compatriot Rigault, the whole French Embassy was placed under arrest, the ambassador himself was confined in the Vizier's palace, and Rigault and the domestics were put to the torture. The English and Dutch ambassadors demanded the release of their fellow diplomatist. But Mustapha refused. It was only by very large donations to

the Mufti, Chaus Bashi, and other officers, that the ambassador at last effected the liberation of himself and his household.

Koreski faithfully fulfilled his promise, and induced the father of the Polish maiden to consent to her marriage with her French liberator.

Mustapha's conduct in this and other matters convinced his ministers that he was unfit even for the slender imperial functions which they had designed to reserve for him. By a formal Fetva or decree of the Uléma, or sacred college, ratified by the general consent of the people, he was deposed, six months after his accession (1618).

The oldest son of Sultan Achmet was raised to the throne, being not more than fourteen years of age, by the title of Othman II.. The Spahis and Janizaries were conciliated by a donative of six millions of ducats. The inefficiency of the Sultanate for some reigns past had caused, as we have seen, a certain transfer of power to the aristocracy of civil and ecclesiastical office. It had, in still larger degree augmented the power and the preponderance of those household troops whose rapine and licence even the most powerful and most prosperous Sultans had found it next to impossible to restrain. This increase of power became very manifest in the reign of Othman II. In this reign the government of Turkey was really a military despotism, of which the repre-

representatives were the Aga of the Janizaries, and the Commandant of the Spahis. It was well for Turkey that the household troops were divided against themselves, that the bitterest hatred and animosity existed between Spahis and Janizaries. Although this circumstance ensured for the nation a dualism, or at least an alternation of masters, yet, on the other hand, it prevented the formal ratification and possessive permanency of any of the usurpations of power, of civil or imperial functions, made by either of the two bodies, the horse or the foot guards. Upon the supposition of the contingency in England of a temporary usurpation of power by our household troops, we should rest our conviction of its non-permanency, of the recovery by the nation of its just civil and legislative functions, upon the fact of our possession of representative institutions, upon the fact of the existence amongst us, as so embodied and expressed, of a strong democratic vitality and vigour, which though it might suffer a temporary eclipse, would be more enduring than the abnormal usurpation which obscured it, and which would re-assert for the nation and the state, the principles of the constitution, the democratic gains which the achievements of the past have made for us. In Turkey, we have said, the ratification and permanence of the power of a military despotism was prevented by the division against

each other of the constituents of that despotism. But besides, another circumstance, as at once a contrast to, and as illustrative of which we have introduced our suppositious analogy from the idea of the English constitution, obviated the permanence of the temporary ascendancy of the household troops in Turkey. The Sultanate was a sacred or holy office. The Sultan was Caliph, Imam, as well as Sultan, Emperor; spiritual representative and successor of Mahomet, as well as lineal descendant of Othman, head of the church as well as ruler of the state. This he was necessarily or inherently. He was Sultan and Caliph inalienably, by virtue of his office, not on account of his personal excellences. Whoever occupied the throne, there still existed the Sultanate. However unworthily he represented him, the blood of Othman still flowed in the imperial veins; the sacred consecration of Mahomet still hung over the Sultan's head. However unfavourably, then, the characteristics of the individual occupant of the throne contrasted with the power of that throne's military defenders, there still existed the idea of the Sultanate — there was still the holy office, if there was a contemptible official. The idea of apostolical succession of the Christian church is an analogue exactly in point. According to that hypothesis, that sacred succession of apostolic gifts is not in the most infinitesimal

measure vitiated or alienated by the personal unworthiness in any epoch of the links of the chain of succession. So did the Sultanate survive the unworthiness of a series of its representatives; so did it withstand and outlive the antagonism of the ever vigorous military power,—outlive it so as to make competent for the first worthy occupant of the throne who should arise, to fall back upon the prestige of Bajazet and Solyman, to identify himself and his deeds, to draw his patent of worthiness from, in addition to his own achievements, the personal deeds of individual and isolated predecessors, as well as from the sacred rights to reign and decree, which, as hereditary Caliph and Sultan, he represented and possessed.

The first act of the young Othman was to conciliate the French nation, who naturally resented the affront put by Mustapha upon their ambassador. As soon as the French ambassador had been freed from confinement, he had sent to acquaint his master with the treatment he had received. Richelieu, who then ruled in France, sent two special envoys to Constantinople to demand reparation for the indignity offered to his representative. Uri Chaus was despatched specially to France to confirm the peace. At his audience he delivered a letter from the young Sultan, in which he made an apology for what had happened, and promised that, for the future,

the French ambassador should be treated with more respect than that of any other Christian potentate. This was the commencement of the French ascendancy at the Porte as compared with other Christian nations represented there; an ascendancy ratified by Jesuit intrigue in the early part of the eighteenth century, an ascendancy of which the possession now by the French alone, of Roman Catholic nations, of the keys and a share in the custodianship of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem is a present proof and illustration.

Uri Chaus, after finishing his business in France, passed over in the same capacity to England, where he had an audience of King James I., at Whitehall.

Shortly after Othman's accession, a peace was concluded with Persia, by which all the territory gained by Amurath III. and Mahomet III. was restored.

Othman, young though he was, showed a capacity beyond his years. But his energy suffered no hindrance, and was in no degree balanced by moderation and prudence. It was made a special complaint by his people that, in a manner unworthy of his imperial office, he interfered with the details of police and fiscal duties, walking about Constantinople in disguise, and frequenting bazaars, coffee-houses, and other haunts of the people. This conduct is precisely what in the

Arabian Nights' Entertainments and in Eastern Chronicles is made an especial ground for the laudation bestowed upon the Arab Caliph, Haroun Al Raschid. But the great and prosperous Haroun could do and merit praise by doing what became not the merely tolerated Othman. The Turkish people naturally thought it unbecoming in their ruler to pry into that social disorganization which had resulted from the unworthy occupancy of the office, from the imperfect discharge of the functions, filled and exercised by Othman himself.

It was the aim of Othman to reduce the influence of the soldiery. This is the key to the policy of his reign. It required no great sagacity to see that this end was desirable. But the supposition by him that he, a boy-ruler, without first gaining any *éclat* from foreign conquest, so as to obliterate the remembrance by the nation of the failures of his predecessors, or in any other way securing a moral support from the nation, could effect the end he desired, indicated a striking want of prudence and sagacity.

The Cossacks on the Dnieper, who were Turkish vassals, waged with the Poles a continual border warfare. This circumstance, along with a petition for assistance against the Austrian Emperor, now heading the Catholic party in the "Thirty Years' War," by the Bohemian Protestants, furnished to Othman the occasion of

engaging his troops in a foreign war, which he had determined to compass as the first step of the policy which was to destroy their influence. Othman himself led his army, in number three hundred thousand. Insubordination, the result of misgovernment, soon developed itself. And the violence and severity of the Sultan, which were singularly excessive, greatly increased the evil. The soldiers said that Sultans Selim and Solyman had poured bounties upon their soldiers, not alienated their affections by severities, but that Othman spilt the blood of his soldiers more freely than that of his enemies. Disasters, too, attending the campaign, a regular mutiny arose, and the soldiers demanded to be led home. Othman was compelled to conclude a disadvantageous peace; and having measured strength with his troops and failed, a loss of strength instead of a gain resulted from his first attempt to destroy the power of the army.

In 1622, Sir Thomas Roe, an ambassador from James I. of Eng'and, "arrived at the Porte to renew the ancient capitulations and privileges, with some amendments." He had it also in charge to offer his master's mediation between the Sultan and Poland; to desire redress for the piracies committed by the galleys of Tunis and Algiers; and likewise to demand restitution of a

great sum of money taken from Arthur Garraway, merchant, in the reign of Achmet.

The Sultan gave orders for renewing the capitulations, with requisite additions, declined the mediation of King James, and engaged to restrain the violence of his piratical African subjects. But Sir Thomas Roe complains that he could obtain no relief as to the demand of Garraway's money.

Early in the year 1622, Othman announced his intention of undertaking the journey to Mecca. His real design was to proceed as far as Damascus, where the Pasha had collected an army of Kurds. Othman designed to put himself at the head of this force, return to Constantinople, give battle to the Janizaries and Spahis, and by one stroke effect their extermination. The real object of his journey transpired. A tumult arose. The Janizaries threatened his deposition, if he so much as crossed the Bosphorus, and demanded the heads of the ministers to whom rumour attributed the suggestion of the design. He agreed to relinquish his intention to journey to Mecca, but refused to warrant the execution of his ministers. The soldiers surrounded his palace. Not one of his three thousand domestics would assist in its defence. The Grand Vizier ventured to go out, to ask the mutineers, "What it was they sought of him, and wherein he had offended?" He was ini-

mediately cut down. When Othman learned that his minister was slain, he attempted to escape into Asia. But failing in every attempt to obtain, unperceived, egress from his palace, he secreted himself in one of its apartments. The soldiers had now resolved on his deposition. They released the ex-Sultan, the imbecile Mustapha, from a vault in which his nephew had confined him at the commencement of the tumult, and proclaimed him Sultan. Othman as yet remained undiscovered, or else the rioters did not pursue their search. On the morning of the next day, he went, as a suppliant, to the barrack of the Janizaries, with tears acknowledged his errors and besought restoration to the throne. They had almost relented. But their Aga re-excited their fury in a violent speech. They seized the Sultan, bound him and sent him prisoner to the Seven Towers. There he remained. Daoud Pasha, the new Grand Vizier, went with some attendants to his cell. Othman, being awakened by his executioners entering his chamber, cried, "What news?" One of them striking him on the head with a battle-axe, the rest fell upon him, and strangled him with the oft-used bowstring.

Mustapha, while in confinement, during his nephew's reign, had concealed, not corrected, the vices of his nature. The soldiers and the nation had hoped that he might have drawn some benefit

from his reverse. The event disappointed them. When he had reigned fifteen months, he was again deposed. He was with every demonstration of ignominy, set on the back of an ass, and, amid the hootings of the mob, conveyed to the prison of the Seven Towers, where he was strangled by the command, and immediately upon the accession, of his successor. The empire was in a state of thorough anarchy. Persia had effected much larger gains on the frontier. All Asia Minor was insurgent. Nepotism and bribery filled every civil and military office. Sir Thomas Roe, the English ambassador, says in his despatches, "The empire has become like an old body, crazed through many vices, which remain when the youth and strength is decayed." It was well for Turkey that Germany was at this time harassed by internecine war. Had the hands of Austria been free, she would have found little difficulty in reconquering for Christendom all the territory held, at least in Europe, by the Ottomans.

CHAPTER IX.

THE Turkish State was by this time an Augean stable. Sultan Athurath Ghazi proved a Hercules fit to clear it. Upon the deposition of Mustapha, the Janizaries met tumultuously at Sultan Solyman's mosque, and decreed that young Amurath should be advanced to the throne. He was the second son of Sultan Achmet, the next brother of Othman II.; and at his accession, had not completed his twelfth year. At first he reigned under the guidance and direction of his mother, the Sultana Valide. But it was not long till he developed and evinced that tremendous energy and determination which saved the Turkish empire from the low condition into which it had fallen. From the first he set himself to the demolition of the power of the household troops, the standing obstacle to good government, and, along with the inefficiency of recent Sultans, the ultimate cause of the prevalent social disorganization. But it was some time ere his plans were ripe. Ten years passed ere he dared to strike the blow which was to free him. In the early portion of his reign, then, the Janizaries and Spahis maintained their undue

authority. But all the while the scheme was being matured which was to effect the resumption by the crown of its just power, and restore the government to its normal condition.

It was not long till Amurath evinced qualities truly imperial, which contrasted strongly with the weaknesses of his predecessors, and which gained for him the affections and respect of his people. He was the best horseman of his age, and appeared every day before his people in the Hippodrome. He was an expert swordsman, and could throw the javelin and shoot with the bow further than any Arab or Tartar. He found, on his accession, the empire engaged in war with Austria, Poland, and Persia. He obtained peace on his European frontier, and continued, but with adverse fortune, the war with the Persian Shah. He succeeded in quelling the formidable insurrection, headed by Abaza, in Anatolia. With a wise magnanimity he attached him to his interests, by conferring upon him a lucrative and important Pashalic.

Hostilities, as far as possible, with foreign powers arranged, domestic insurrection quelled, and himself having acquired the confidence and support of his people, he now devoted himself to the reduction of the undue power of the soldiers. By a critical but successful *coup d'etat*, he regained for his own imperial office a power held through many

reigns by the otherwise most powerful body in the state, a power around which had gathered the prestige of lengthened possession, a power which Amurath well knew would not be relinquished except on the most absolute necessity. Amurath well knew, too, that if he failed, his failure would be complete and final; that the results of his previous policy would be dissipated, and that he would inherit that deposition and death for which there was no lack of recent and apposite precedent. It was only by a literal *coup d'état* that the change could be effected. Louis XIV. said, "The State—I am the State!" The Spahis and Janizaries were in Turkey the "State."

In the ninth year of Amurath's reign, the Spahis, instigated by Redjid Pasha, projected an insurrection. They collected in the Hippodrome, and demanded the heads of seventeen of Amurath's ministers. They proceeded to the imperial palace, filled its outer court, and with clamorous and united voice, reiterated their insolent and sanguinary demand. Amurath ordered Hafiz, the especial object of their hatred, to cross the Bosphorus, and conceal himself in Scutari. Amurath went out to face the rabble. Their cry was universal, their demand imperative: "The seventeen heads or abdicate. Give up thy ministers that we may tear them in pieces, or it shall be the worse for thee." Amurath saw that the time had

not yet come for the assertion of his and the state's independence. He had long worked the mine. It was nearly, but not yet, ready to be sprung. Amurath sent an officer to Hafiz, ordering him to return and deliver himself up. He obeyed his master's mandate. Amurath led him forth and presented him to the mob, imploring on his behalf, their clemency. The cry, "The seventeen heads," was as loudly as ever raised. Hafiz went forth to die, pleading only to be buried at Scutari. Exclaiming, "There is no assistance but from God, the most High, the Almighty—His we are and to him we return," he presented himself to the Spahis. They rushed upon him. The foremost he struck down, but their poniards soon drank his life. The Sultan looked on. He said, "God's will be done; in His own time vengeance will be performed."

Amurath had gradually formed a secret but faithful party among the Spahis and Janizaries themselves. A natural reaction, consequent upon the sacrifice of Hafiz, strengthened it. His policy, too, was to foment and profit by the jealousy existing between the two corps. On the 29th of May, 1632, he held a divan. There were present the highest religious and civil officers, and the leaders of the party who had sworn to regain for the Sultan the full powers exercised by his ancestors. The faithful troops were in readiness. While

Amurath presided at his council, he despatched a messenger to command the presence of six of the principal Spahi officers. The Janizaries, too, were as a body, convened, men as well as officers. Amurath addressed the Janizaries in terms of commendation and approval. He complimented them on their loyalty, specifically contrasting the disaffection which he alleged existed among the Spahis. The Janizaries shouted out their allegiance and their readiness to defend the throne against their rivals. A special oath of allegiance was administered on the Koran to every man. Amurath turned to the Spahi representatives and reproached them with the disloyalty of their corps. They exculpated themselves personally from the stigma which they confessed attached in measure to the body. In confirmation of their fidelity, they took the same oath as the Janizaries, and, in addition, consented to denounce and deliver up the disaffected amongst them. Amurath succeeded in inciting the enthusiasm of the whole assemblage. He proposed an appeal to the sword to defend the throne from its domestic enemies, and all proclaimed their agreement.

Slaughter soon commenced, and Janizaries as well as Spahis were sacrificed. For many days the massacre was continued, simultaneously in Constantinople and the provinces. In his twentieth year Amurath thus delivered himself from the

power of his guards, restored to the state its violated equilibrium, and became Sultan in reality as well as in name.

Amurath was in the habit of passing nights under disguise in the streets of his capital, hunting out abuses and discovering the violaters of his numerous edicts. One night, as he was going about the market-place, he saw a man rolling on the ground, dead drunk. Amurath conceived him to be mad, and in wonder asked his companions if they thought so. They told him that he was drunk with wine, of whose effects he was as yet ignorant. Meanwhile, Mustapha, the inebriate, arose and assailed the Sultan with opprobrious words. Amurath said, "Rascal, dost thou bid me, who am Sultan Amurath, to be gone?" "And I," answered the drunkard, "am Bekri Mustapha. But if thou wilt sell me this city, I will buy it. And then I shall be Sultan Amurath, and thou Bekri Mustapha." Amurath demanded where he would get the money to purchase such a city. Mustapha replied, "Do not trouble thyself about that; for, what is more, I will also buy the son of a Bondwoman." He meant the Sultan himself—Son of a Bondwoman is an expression conversationally used by the Turks to designate their rulers, their mothers having been always purchased as slaves into the Harem. Amurath ordered Mustapha to be lifted out of the kennel and

carried to the palace. In a few hours he came to his senses. Seeing himself in a magnificent room, he asked those who attended him, what was the meaning of all that, and whether he was in a dream or in Paradise? Being informed of what had passed, and his bargain with the Sultan, he was in the greatest terror, knowing Amurath's fierce disposition. But he knew how the grape gives courage, and feigning illness, he said he should die unless he could have some wine to restore him. The attendants gave him a flask of Cyprus. He drank it empty, had it refilled, and concealed it under his robe. Being sent for by Amurath, and ordered to pay so many millions as the price of the city, he took the flask out of his bosom, and said, "This, oh Sultan, is what would yesterday have purchased Constantinople; and were you likewise possessed of these riches, you would think them preferable to the monarchy of the universe." Amurath demanded how that could be? "By drinking this divine liquor," said Mustapha. The Sultan snatched the flask, and took a large draught. Never having before tasted wine, it overpowered him. He entered Mustapha's elysium. From that date he was an habitual drinker, and was drunk every night. Mustapha was the favourite companion of his carousals. In 1633, in flagrant violation of the Koran, he published an edict by

which everybody was allowed to drink wine, and its sale permitted.

In 1637, the Grand Vizier, who was conducting the war against Persia, wrote the Sultan that he had not forces sufficient to oppose the enemy, and that his presence was absolutely necessary to encourage the soldiers. Amurath resolved to recover Bagdad. Early in 1638 he commenced his march. After a journey of a hundred and ninety-six days, he arrived with his army of reinforcement at his Vizier's camp. He proceeded to Bagdad and commenced the siege. The city was strongly fortified. Its garrison numbered thirty thousand. The resistance was strenuous and desperate. But the personal presence of Amurath with his army, effected as much as the Vizier had anticipated. One of the garrison, of enormous height, having challenged the best soldier of the Turkish army to single combat, Mahomet fought him, and cleft his skull to the chin. A breach of eight hundred yards having been made in the rampart, and the ditch being filled up with fascines and the *débris*, on Christmas Eve, Mahomet himself leading the foremost stormers, Bagdad fell. Every man, woman, and child, was massacred. The garrison numbered thirty thousand, and the civic population was more numerous.

Amurath entered Constantinople in triumph,

clad in a glittering coat of Persian steel armour, with a panther's skin over his shoulders. Twenty-two Persian princes followed in chains. In the peace which Persia sued for, Bagdad was solemnly ceded to the Turks.

Amurath now devoted himself to the reorganization of the neglected naval establishment. He now, too, surrendered himself more completely than ever to the sanguinary and cruel disposition which had all along characterized him. He often at midnight stole out of the seraglio, and running through the streets with his drawn sword, slew every one whom he met. From the windows of his palace he shot with the bow, men and women in the streets, and on the Bosphorus. Once he shot a whole party of girls who were dancing in a meadow. During his reign of seventeen years he slew with his own hands fourteen thousand human beings.

His personal habits soon began to impair his health. He grew feeble, his whole bodily system became disorganized. He was grievously afflicted with gout, and paralytic all over. His mother and the physicians persuaded him to abstain from wine. But he could not withstand the temptation of a banquet to which some of his boon companions invited him in the feast of Bayram. The debauch threw him into a violent fever. Before many days he died. His short but vigorous reign

purged the State of the myriad abuses which had arisen under his predecessors. The conquest of Badgad restored the prestige of the national arms abroad. The imperial office regained for itself the respect and confidence of the people. The nation was freed from the constant terror inspired by its military tyrants. In the treasury, which Amurath had found empty, he left fifteen million ducats.

On Amurath's death, there was no other heir to the throne but his brother Ibrahim. Amurath, on his death-bed, had compelled the Mufti to sign a Fetva for the execution of Ibrahim, and had appointed as his successor his favourite, Mustapha, the Khan of Tartary. Mustapha was not of the house of Othman, and was not even a Turk. It was not difficult, therefore, for the Sultana mother, Kioseme, to have the imperial decision reversed, and to obtain the support of the high officers of state for the claims of her son. Ibrahim was twenty-two years of age at his accession. For four years he had been kept by his brother Amurath in close confinement, and in constant fear of death. Whatever had been their natural capacity, the close incarceration in which Ibrahim and other recent Sultans had been kept before they reached the throne, was sufficient to cause and account for the feebleness of their characters and the inefficiency of their government.

When the officers of state came to Ibrahim to announce to him his election to the throne, they found him in a narrow dungeon, deprived of light. Judging their errand to be a summons to death, he barred the door, and denied them entrance. When the Vizier proclaimed him Sultan, he refused to credit the glad news. Fearing the whole to be an artifice of his brother, of whose decease he was uninformed, he said, he did not desire that honour. It was not till his mother ordered the body of Amurath to be brought and exhibited to him, that he would give them credence. This convinced him. He took heart and sailed to Yupuan Saray, or Job's mosque, whence in eight days, all the sacred and civil ceremonies of his inauguration being completed, he rode through the city to the palace. De Loir, in his *Voyage de Levant*, says, that he was so feeble, that in saluting the people by bowing the head, he would have fallen to the ground, if he had not been supported. Another authority says, "Whether for want of practice, or through an awkwardness natural to fools, he sat his horse so odiously that it moved the laughter rather than the acclamation of the people."

His incapacity was, from the first, apparent. He entrusted the whole management of affairs to his ministers. His Vizier, Mahomet, proved an efficient ruler. Under his government greater

successes attended the Ottoman arms than in most recent reigns. Ibrahim buried himself in his palace and its gardens, following his favourite recreations of foot-racing and shooting with the bow. His master passion was licentiousness, which from the first, and till his death, exercised an influence upon him as great as that possessed over Amurath by the love of wine.

The first care of Ibrahim's government was to clear the Black Sea of Cossack pirates, and to render the passage safe for Turkish ships trading from Constantinople to the Danube and the Crimea. Azov was the stronghold of the pirates. Its siege and demolition were resolved on. It was successively besieged in 1640 and 1641, but without success. In the second siege it was assaulted without intermission, by sea and land, for eight days. Not an inch of ground was gained. Three thousand Spahis, seven thousand Janizaries, and eight thousand other soldiers, besides Moldavians, Wallachians, and Tartars, lay cold in the trenches. In 1642, the Porte having settled its difficulties with the Austrian Emperor, and concluded an advantageous peace for twenty years, the Vizier, Mahomet, resolved to attack Azov a third time. The Cossacks sought the assistance of the Russian Czar. But he declined to furnish reinforcement, as having just concluded a peace with the Porte. The Cossacks abandoned the city, demolished the

walls and buildings, and carried away their moveable effects.

In this year the Turks renewed their league with the Persians, on condition that the Shah ordered the demolition of the fortress of Fortrina, which he had built on the Caspian Sea, contrary to the articles of the convention. In the same year, although in contravention of the peace with the Emperor, an attempt was made to take the strong border fortress of Raab in Hungary. A number of soldiers, in the disguise of peasants, were put into carts covered with hay. The design was to get the carts into the city, and to support over night, by an attack from without, the massacre begun by the men concealed in the carts. But the force who lay without the city, being discovered by an officer of the garrison returning from hunting, he quickened his pace; and, passing the carts of hay, which seemed to him to be loaded in an unusual manner, his suspicion was increased. On arriving at Raab, he communicated his discovery to the commandant. He immediately summoned the garrison to arms, and despatched messengers for reinforcements. The carts were permitted to enter, the bridge was drawn up, the carts searched, and the whole fraud detected. The Emperor being engaged in a war with Sweden, was unable to resent the injury.

In 1644, Ibrahim lost the valuable service of

his Vizier, Mahomet. The victim of a court intrigue, he was beheaded.

Bekr, Pasha of Rhodes, the new Kapitan Pasha, or lord high admiral, "to hansel his office," made a descent on the coast of Calabria, and took three hundred prisoners. Reprisals made by the knights of Malta, who undertook to avenge the injury for the Neapolitan government, produced important results.

All the islands of the Archipelago and the Levant were now subdued and in the possession of the Turks, with the sole exception of Crete. Crete was a dependency of Venice. It was the retreat of the pirates who plundered Turkish vessels trading from Constantinople and Roumelia to Syria and Egypt. It was especially resorted to by the galleys of the knights of Malta. In the ports of Crete they deposited their plunder, took in stores, and had their vessels repaired. In this year (1644) a Turkish ship, with the Kisklar Agasi, or chief eunuch, the Cadi of Mecca, and the Mollah of Brusa, on board, on its way to Egypt, was attacked and taken by six Maltese galleys. The Kisklar Agasi, the Cadi, and the captain of the ship were killed. The Maltese galleys put into a Cretan port. They gave its governor some share of their prize, and departed to Malta with the rest. Ibrahim was enraged at the loss of his ship and officers, vowed utter ruin to Malta,

and determined to undertake the conquest of Crete, the centre of the piratical expeditions which annoyed the Turkish inter-provincial trade. He represented to the Bailo, the Venetian ambassador at the Porte, the share which Crete, in the shelter it had afforded to the pirates and in the receiving of a part of the plunder, had had in the transaction, and demanded reparation from the parent government at Venice. The Bailo answered that the port which the Maltese had put into had neither castle nor fortress; and that if the Turkish government was not able to hinder foreign ships from careening, as they had often done, before Rhodes, how was it possible for the Venetians to drive them out of the sea. Ibrahim feigned satisfaction. The Bailo, although "a person of penetration," had no apprehensions of a war. But as great hostile preparations went on in the arsenals and dockyards at Constantinople, it was conjectured that it was at Malta that the coming storm was to burst.

On the last day of April, 1645, a fleet set sail, consisting of seventy-three galleys, eight others from Barbary, two galleasses, one great galleon, and twenty other ships. Of the last, ten were English and Dutch pressed into the service. ~~There were~~ besides three hundred caiques and ~~caramousals~~, which carried soldiers, provisions, and stores. There were on board seven thousand

Janizaries, fourteen thousand Spahis, three thousand pioneers and fifty thousand ordinary troops. On the seventh of May they arrived at the island of Scio. Here the fleet divided and took different courses. The object of the expedition had not been divulged. War had not been declared against any power. At last orders were issued to reassemble the ships, and to sail for Crete. Venice despatched a fleet for its defence. In the middle of June the Ottoman fleet appeared off the island. The troops effected a landing at Gogna with but trifling loss. They pressed forward and invested Kanea, the second city in the island. This they soon reduced. The garrison was massacred. Early in 1646 they took Retino. At sea the fleet prevented the Venetian galleys and reinforcements approaching the island. The whole island was subdued with the exception of Candia, the capital.

In 1648 Ibrahim insulted the Mufti, by returning to him, with demonstrations of scorn, his daughter, whom he had married only a few days. The Mufti dissembled his desire for revenge, but secretly secured the support of Mehemed Pasha, a principal member of the divan, and of the Aga of the Janizaries, in a conspiracy to depose the Sultan. The Janizaries were made by the conspirators the instruments of effecting the design. They compelled Ibrahim to depose the Vizier

Ahmed. They strangled him. They raised Mehemed to the viziership. On the day after, they demanded of the Mufti whether Sultan Ibrahim, as a fool and tyrant, ought to be deposed. He answered, "Yes." They then demanded that Ibrahim should be present next day at the divan, to administer justice to his soldiers and subjects. Ibrahim laughed at their citation, and refused to attend. The Mufti despatched to him a Fetva, "that as the Sultan was called to account, he was obliged to appear." Ibrahim tore the paper, and threatened to kill the Mufti. The Mufti issued a new Fetva, appealing to the highest sanctions: "That whosoever obeyed not the law of God was not a true believer, although he were the Sultan himself; but that being become an infidel by his actions, he was fallen from the throne, and not further capable of authority or rule." Ibrahim now ordered the Grand Vizier to have the Mufti beheaded. This command was not obeyed. Mehemed alleged that by the last Fetva he had lost all authority. The Janizaries now collected, and rushed tumultuously to the palace. Ibrahim lost all courage. He learned that his mother was a party to the conspiracy. He fled to her apartments and implored her protection and advocacy. She addressed the soldiers, adjuring them to do no violence to the Sultan. She engaged on his behalf that he would immediately abdicate and

return to his cell. He retired to his prison. But the compact was not observed. In a few days he was strangled by the mutes.

It is or was the custom in Turkey, when any one has received an injury from any minister or official, for him to put fire on his head, and run to the palace. And he can by doing so demand an audience. In 1644 several English vessels were lying in the Bosphorus. They were plundered; the Vizier refused redress. Sir Thomas Bendish, the English ambassador, brought up the plundered ships from Galata, and anchored them immediately before the windows of the imperial palace. Adapting the custom we have alluded to to the circumstance, he lighted fires on every yard-arm. No sooner was this seen on shore, than the Vizier hastened to the ambassador, paid him a large sum of money, and engaging to pay the surplus of the sum demanded, besought him to extinguish the fires.

Amurath Ghazi had left a large sum in the treasury, Sultan Ibrahim left it exhausted.

CHAPTER X.

THE Janizaries proclaimed Mahomet, the son of Ibrahim, Sultan. He was but seven years old at his accession. During his minority, which continued ten years, his mother, assisted by the council of twelve Pashas, and especially by the Vizier, or primeminister, Kioprili, conducted the government.

It was resolved to continue the war against the Venetians. Venice at first believed that her safety was provided for by the contests between the Spahis and Janizaries which agitated the early part of Mahomet's reign. For long, the Janizaries having established their superiority, no Spahi dared to approach Constantinople. But the hopes of the Venetian government ceased with the settlement of the contest, which after a time ensued. They vigorously made preparation for the defence of their territories in Crete, Dalmatia, Bosnia, Albania, and the Morca.

In Bosnia the Venetians, under Foscolo, were at first successful. They defeated the Turks before the walls of Saray, and forced the garrison of Pisanò to surrender. The Turkish army, how-

ever, being reinforced, the Venetians were driven back within their previous frontier.

The Turkish arms experienced different fortunes in encounters with other enemies. In this year (1649) the Austrian general, Forgatz, defeated them near Buda. They failed in an attack on Klissa, from which they were repulsed with a loss of five thousand men. Their shores on the Black Sea were ravaged by Cossacks from the estuary of the Don. The half-healed division between the Janizaries and the Spahis again arose. They refused to leave Constantinople; and shed the blood in encounters in the streets and Hippodrome, which, spilt in Crete, might else have purchased peace and conquest for the state. The Kapitan Pasha with the fleet, was cooped up by the Venetian high admiral within the Dardanelles. It was only on the approach of winter, and the storms which always attend its recurrence in the Black and *Ægean* seas, that the Venetians retired and permitted the Turks to sail out with supplies for the besiegers of Candia, the capital of Crete, which was still held by Venice. In July, 1651, the whole Turkish fleet was twice in succession routed by the Venetians. In the second defeat they lost thirty-nine galleys, twenty-three ships, three galliasses, and three thousand soldiers; meanwhile dissension increased and spread among the soldiers. This had scarcely been quelled by the general distri-

bution of large donatives, when news arrived at Constantinople of two formidable insurrections, one at Damascus, the other at Grand Cairo. The divan of Pashas was harassed by the advent of tidings of reverses and insubordination from every province. They discharged their executive functions, too, under the constant fear of dismissal and death at the hands of the turbulent Janizaries, their virtual masters. No Vizier during the minority of Mahomet retained long the possession of his office. At every new reverse, the minister under whose rule it occurred was deposed and destroyed, and another pasha advanced to his dangerous post. In 1656, the Janizaries and Spahis, by this time reconciled and acting together for their common aggrandizement, on one occasion tumultuously entered the divan, deposed the ruling Vizier, turned out several other officers, commanded the Mufti to depart to Jerusalem, and even proposed to dethrone the Sultan himself. They broke open the treasury and carried away two millions of ducats. A "change of ministry" was effected, the Pasha of Silistria was made Kapitan Pasha, or lord high admiral; Husseyn Pasha, commander of the forces; and Kioprili, Pasha of Damascus, advanced to the prime vizierate. Under the rule of the energetic Kioprili much of previous misfortune was retrieved; the fame of the Turkish arms was restored, and the reins of government were so dis-

entangled from the partial control of the conflicting bodies in the state who had endeavoured to guide them, as to justify their being delivered over, on his attainment of comparative maturity, to the young and untried Sultan.

All this while the siege of Candia, the capital, and only remaining unsubdued stronghold of Crete, was being strenuously carried on. In 1650 Hussey'n Pasha had been set over the besiegers, and as the operations carried on under him were conducted with comparative success, at no time did the Janizaries propose to depose him. When he commenced the siege, Candia was somewhat feebly garrisoned, and there seemed a near prospect of its fall. But the Venetians succeeded in throwing in a strong reinforcement; and the knights of St. John sent sixty of their number, with six hundred other trained men of war. The knights obtained the honourable trust of the fort of Martinengo, the post of greatest danger. In a fourth and desperate attack the Turks carried it, but the knights rallying, retook it with the loss of all the intruders. The Turks in turn prevailing, the Venetians sprung their mines, and blew the fort, with two thousand Turks, into the air.

The siege was intermitted, pending the result of an attempt at negotiation between Venice and the Porte. But as the divan insisted upon the unconditional surrender of Candia, and the perma-

nent cession of all Crete, and demanded ten millions as an indemnity for expenses incurred in the siege and the war, the attempt at pacification failed. Kioprili turned his chief attention to the vigorous resumption of the siege. A large fleet was fitted out and set sail from Constantinople, but it had scarcely cleared the mouth of the Dardanelles, when the Venetians attacked it. The Captain General Marcello was slain, but the Proveditor vigorously discharged the duties of commander, and soon effected the rout of the Turks; only eighteen galleys escaped. Animated by their victory, the Venetians made a descent upon the island of Tenedos; they left a garrison, and immediately proceeded to the capture of Lemnos. A second Turkish fleet despatched by Kioprili to recover the islands was also defeated. In July another fleet, the third fitted out in that year (1656), appeared before Tenedos. The Venetian garrison abandoned it as untenable. Lemnos held out two months, and its corps of occupation obtained honourable terms on its surrender. Sultan Mahomet, who was now commencing to assume to himself and discharge his imperial functions under the direction of his wise and energetic minister, again made overtures for peace to Venice, but his demands were so absurdly inconsistent with the balance of success, and general position of affairs, as again to make the negotiations abor-

tive. He demanded the surrender of Candia, and of Klissa, in Dalmatia, which the Turks had lost in the beginning of the war, along with an indemnity of three millions.

During the next two years Mahomet was engaged by an insurrection of some magnitude, fomented by some of his ministers. In quelling it he gave unquestionable indication of great energy and personal bravery, but it was to the skill and ability of his great minister, Kioprili, that Mahomet was chiefly indebted for the continued security of his throne.

For many reigns now, there had ceased to be Sultans worthy of their title and of the names they bore.

"From the period of Solymán's unfortunate marriage with Roxalana," says Professor Ranke, "the organization of the Ottoman polemarchy began to lack the head in which its life was centred. The Sultans continued to be Emirs like their ancestors, with a warlike confederacy of slaves. What must needs have been the result, so soon as the spirit of the confederacy became alienated from the Emir? If the despotism had need of the slaves, the slaves had need of the despot.

"But can it have been that no remedy was to be found in the constitution against an evil, the inevitable occurrence of which, at least occasionally, might have been so easily foreseen?

“There exists among the Ottomans an institution fitted to prevent the effects of incapacity in the Sultan,—the institution of the Veziri-aasam; that is, of the grand Vizier. This officer they are accustomed to style an unlimited deputy, an essential feature in the world’s order, nay, a lord of the empire. A great portion of the public weal depends on him, since he holds the administration, and when the Sultan is incapable, the whole executive power is in his hands. The grand difficulty is only to find a man, who taking upon himself his master’s duties, possesses likewise all the virtues which the latter wants.”

Turkey had now for some generations been sorely in want of Sultans, but the administrative skill and executive energy of successive occupants of the vizierate had in considerable measure counteracted or modified the imperial inefficiency.

Selim II. was of a surly, fanatical, unapproachable temperament. He made Vizier of a Bosnian slave named Mehemet. To Mehemet was intrusted the whole routine of business. Barbaro, ambassador from Venice to the Porte, says that he was the only ear in the empire to hear, and the only head to determine. Mehemet at last perished by the knife of an assassin. The Venetian, Floriani, says, “when he fell, the virtue of the Turks descended to its grave.” Amurath’s Vizier, Sciaus, a Croat, governed with mingled energy and leni-



VENICE

ency. Kioprili, the Vizier of Sultan Mahomet IV., was the greatest of Turkish non-imperial statesmen, if we except alone Ala-ed-deen, the brother of Sultan Othman, who first embodied the Janizaries, who founded the civil policy and the military establishment of the Turkish state. The great obstacles to good government in Turkey, the great competitors to the power of Sultan and Vizier, were the imperial body-guards, and the court officials, male and female ; Spahis, Bostangis, and Janizaries ; Eunuchs ; Viziers of the Cupola ; ladies of the harem, and Sultana mothers. Kioprili made use of the body-guards to rid himself of the favourites in the seraglio who stood in his way. This effected, he mastered the soldiers, and thereafter kept them busy with war after war. The navy too, shattered by the frequent defeats by the Venetians, he renewed and augmented. The means of the retrieval of the honour of the Turkish arms thus by Kioprili established, and plans of enterprise, on the seas, and with reference to the still unachieved conquest of all Crete, and by land on the Hungary and Austria-ward frontiers, chalked out, he sickened of his last illness. He had persuaded the young Sultan to retire to Adrianople, and had remained in the capital to complete his plans and preparations. Amurath hastened to the capital, and by the dying lips of his faithful minister was enjoined to appoint to the

vizierate his son Achmet. He proved an able and adequate successor to his father.

Before commencing the execution of the great foreign enterprises conceived by, and entrusted to him by his father, he established good government at home, removed by death rival Pashas and officers of State, and quenched the embers of apparent or prospective rebellion.

Ragotski, Waywode of Transylvania, was a vassal of the Turkish crown. As such he was debarred from forming an alliance with any Christian power without the privity and permission of the Sultan. This prohibition he violated by combining with Sweden against Poland. Achmet Kioprili marched against him. The Waywode died of a wound received in a battle in which he had repulsed the Turks. Austria, under the Emperor Leopold, was drawn into the embroilment on the old ground, which had so often, especially with reference to the government of Hungary and Transylvania, occasioned wars between the Emperor and the Sultan. The Emperor appointed Kemini to be Waywode. The Sultan commanded the Transylvanians to submit to the rule of Michael Abaffi. Turkey was fairly embarked in an important and formidable war. The Sultan and his Vizier rejoiced at the incident which had precipitated the hostilities which they desired, and vigorously prepared for the extended operations,

for which the foresight of the late Vizier had left the imperial treasury, arsenals, and armies, well prepared. In 1662, the first campaign, Achmet took Neuhausel and ravaged Moravia. In February of 1663, the horsetails were erected before the Vizier's gate. The war was vigorously renewed. All soldiers were summoned to their standards. The most distant provinces of the empire furnished contingents of men. Koords, Arabs, and Syrians marched with their Ottoman co-religionists and rulers. The provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia were enjoined to furnish the commissariat supplies. The Ottomans met the army of the empire on the Raab, at the town of the same name, under Montecuculi, who had been appointed Generalissimo of the federal army by the Diet of Ratisbon. Before they engaged him, considerable detachments of Turks sustained on the Danube several sharp defeats at the hands of other Imperialist and Austrian generals. At Levintz they lost two thousand men, and again formed and prepared for battle in a contiguous plain. The centre fled at the first attack of the Christians, leaving the wings unassisted and dissevered. On the field they left their baggage and cannon, and in the flight almost all were slain. Those who reached the Danube found its fords and bridges occupied, and were slain. Seven hundred Moldavians and Wallachians were hung with their

muskets suspended from their necks. They had left on the field four thousand arabas or carts with ammunition and food, a hundred standards, and twelve pieces of cannon. This defeat, serious and thorough, was only a foretaste and prelude to a rout and massacre still more signal and disastrous inflicted by Montecuculi on the whole Turkish army at Raab.

Montecuculi had maintained his position at Raab on his own side of the river, where he held the key to Austria and Styria. In July (1664), the Turks took up a position on the other side. On the 1st of August, the first portion of the army, fifteen thousand strong, crossed the river. On the next day, Achmet intended to ford the river with the remainder. But on the intervening night, the Raab rose far above its banks, and flowed with greatly increased rapidity. Montecuculi saw his opportunity, and fell upon those who had crossed before they had time to intrench themselves. The only reinforcement they received was a tithe of the most vigorous and venturesome of the Janizaries left behind, who, plunging into the river, succeeded in reaching the Austrian shore, the majority perishing in its waves. By the afternoon, the flood had, in some degree, abated. The brave fifteen thousand, although greatly reduced and exhausted by the fight, which had lasted since daybreak, had kept their ground

till, at four o'clock, they were joined by welcome reinforcements of Janizaries and Spahis. Montecuculi had almost ordered a retreat within his lines and the walls of the city, when he resolved to attempt a final charge before the Turkish army had completed its passage. Fortuitously, and fortunately for Montecuculi, a panic seized the Turks. A cry was raised that Count Zriny had seized their camp. They wavered and turned to recross the river. Montecuculi pressed them with his whole line, and urged them to headlong flight. Thus did a sudden panic deprive them of the victory to which the heroic defence of the fifteen thousand, the valour of those who breasted the flood, and the alacrity with which the further reinforcement had, as soon as practicable, been rendered, equally entitled them. The Turks lost thirty thousand men. Montecuculi entered Vienna triumphant. He was made Lieutenant-General of the imperial army—ballads and songs celebrated his praises, and gave lyric commemoration to the victory of Raab.

The Emperor had embarked in the war unwillingly, and now proposed a peace, to which their signal reverse strongly inclined the Turks to accede. The Sultan obtained terms much more favourable than the position of affairs warranted; so great was the desire, on the part of the Emperor, for pacification.

The Sultan and his Vizier now directed their attention to the vigorous resumption of the siege of Candia. But this was delayed for a year by the institution of measures rendered necessary for the suppression of a formidable and somewhat singular rebellion.

Sabatei Sevi, a Jew, the son of a broker of Smyrna, was banished for a tumult there. After wandering over Greece, he settled at Jerusalem, and resolved to commence the trade of impostor. He took to himself a coadjutor called Nathan. Sabatei declared himself at Gaza, to which he had removed, to be the Messiah, while Nathan at Jerusalem declared that the Messiah would appear, within a year, before the Sultan and pluck the crown from his head. Multitudes flocked to Sabatei and became his enthusiastic disciples. The *furor* increased, and developed itself into a rebellion, inasmuch as Sabatei denounced as impious the payment of tribute, and declared his determination to dethrone the Sultan. Almost all the Jews in Palestine believed in the impostor. An almost contemporary authority says, "Some invented miracles in his favour, and others swore to be witnesses to them; while almost all believed them, and were ready to tear in pieces those who did not; for there are, even among the Jews, some men of understanding and discernment."

At length Sabatei declared that he was called by God to visit Constantinople. Immediately on

his arrival the Vizier had him imprisoned. This only increased the frenzy of the Jews. The Sultan ordered Sabatei to be brought to his presence. The Jews asserted with confidence his Messiahship, and assembled in great numbers to witness the interview between him and the Sultan. Mahomet demanded a miracle in proof of his divinity and his mission. He put the question to the issue, that he should be stripped naked for his archers to shoot at, and promised that, in case the arrows did not touch his body, or did not inflict wounds, he himself would acknowledge him to be the Messiah. He was stripped naked, and tied to a column in the midst of a plain, a line was formed, their bows were stretched, and their fingers on the strings. Struck with terror, the Jew proclaimed his vulnerability and his imposture. He embraced Mahometanism and recanted all his threats and pretensions.

Thus freed from internal discord, the Vizier now gave himself to the siege of Candia. The Turks had been engaged in effecting the conquest of Crete for thirty years, and its capital still held out. Every port had been gallantly defended by the Venetians along with the slender voluntary succour which they had received from Christian knights and soldiers of fortune. Under Candia had been sprung hundreds of mines; thousands of eager besiegers had been hurled back from her

battlements, and the town was still untaken, its garrison yet undaunted. In the spring of 1667 Achmet landed with a picked army of a hundred thousand, and gave new vigour to the siege. He invested the whole town; he sat down before the bastion of Panigra. To the Aga of the Janizaries and each pasha in command he assigned the vigilant watch and attack of a bastion, gate, or tower. A bombardment was instantly commenced, alternating with frequent assaults. No effort was spared by Venice in defence. And she had obtained from the states of Christendom no mean succour. Constant reinforcements of French and Italian volunteers arrived. The French Dukes of Beaufort and Noailles led large detachments, and personally superintended the defence. Beaufort, with the flower of his officers, fell in a sally. The whole strength of the Ottoman army was given to the siege; but with no apparent success. "The fortifications appeared day by day to arise from their ruins, notwithstanding that the artillery of the besieged caused a terrible havoc; bombs, petards, and mines, were put in use for the defence; frequently the besiegers, throwing down their arms in despair, refused to advance any more to the fatal breach, although urged by promises, menaces, and wounds. The situation of the place was particularly long, and during the twenty-nine months of

active siege, a perpetual concourse of French and Italian volunteers had succeeded each other; for the Christian soldier, emulous of glory, hastened to the glorious contest of Candia; and so obstinate was the attack and the defence, that it may be truly said there was not one foot of ground which was not moistened with the blood of the combatants. If a wall fell by the fire of the batteries, another wall was seen forthwith to grow up within sight of its ruins; indeed, so many obstacles and losses would have deterred the besiegers, but that they were led by Kioprili, and possessed the physical, stubborn obstinacy which marks their national character."

Candia at last became untenable. The French, too, had quarrelled with the Venetian garrison and treacherously retired. Surrender was an inevitable necessity. The captain-general held a council of his officers; some advised to blow up the place and perish in its ruins. A wiser portion, and the majority, counselled treating with the Turkish general. Plenipotentiaries were sent into the camp. Honourable terms were obtained. The Venetian garrison embarked, in number only two-thousand five-hundred, sickly, ill-accoutred, and half naked. All the civilian inhabitants departed, except two Greek priests, one woman, and three Jews.

In the siege of Candia the Venetians had lost

above thirty thousand ; the Turks, at the lowest estimate, a hundred and twenty thousand. Sir Paul Rycaut, then English Consul at Smyrna, estimates their loss at nine hundred thousand. The cost of the siege to Venice was a hundred millions of golden crowns. Candia had sustained fifty-six assaults. The Turks had sprung four hundred and sixty mines.

The year after the capture of Candia was occupied by a war with the Poles, under their then general, afterwards king, Sobieski. The Cossacks of the Ukraine were involved in the hostilities. Their Hetman, or ruler, offered to the Sultan the allegiance and services of his warrior tribe. Mahomet, irritated and harassed by the infidelity of his Christian and Slavonic vassals, the Wayvodes and princes of the Principalities, indignantly refused the proffered vassalage, and dismissed the Hetman with scorn. The Cossacks made a similar offer to the Czar of Russia. It was eagerly, and with a wiser policy, accepted. Under the Czars, the Ukraine Cossacks have found no lack of occasions to avenge on successive sultans and their provinces the insult offered by Sultan Mahomet IV. to their Hetman.

In 1673, Achmet Kioprili died. He had inherited his father's virtues and talents, and had enjoyed the *éclat* of carrying into execution his father's well-matured designs. The mosques and

minarets which in the town of Candia now glittered in the sun, where chapels and spires had stood, were his monuments. His administration was lenient and gentle; his public faith unquestioned; his arrangements with foreign powers honourably and faithfully observed. He was entitled "the light and splendour of the nations; the conservator and guardian of good laws; the vicar of the shadow of God; the thrice-learned and all-accomplished."

Disturbances in Hungary occasioned by the persecution instituted against Protestants by the supple government of Vienna, incited thereto by the representations of Louis XIV., who possessed already an European influence, again implicated the Sultan in war with Austria. And this in spite of the armistice for twenty years which had been concluded on the last termination of hostilities. The new Grand Vizier, Kara Mustapha, was bent upon a vigorous war. A large and important party of Hungarian Protestants, among them the most influential nobility, sought the assistance of the Sultan, and faithfully bound themselves his vassals. They asked him to co-operate by sea on the Adriatic, offered to enlist in his army and under Turkish officers, and promised to engage as allies the Greeks in Croatia. Austria discovered the conspiracy, but by its sanguinary measures of repression, only precipitated its culmination. The

young noble, Emeric Tokolli, whose father had fallen an early martyr to the national cause, headed the rising, and proved an adequate coadjutor to the Turkish commanders and their generalissimo, the Vizier Kara Mustapha.

Early in 1682, a large Turkish army, under Mustapha, was on the march for Hungary. Kara projected and proposed, in a council of war, an immediate advance upon Vienna. Tokolli and the Hungarians urged the necessity of first delivering all Hungary from Austrian rule and influence. But the Vizier persisted in his intention. His army took all the fortified places on their immediate line of march. Hordes of Tartars preceded them, collecting food and forage, and ravaging with fire and sword.

The Viennese were struck with terror, and in multitudes left the city. The craven emperor himself fled to Lintz. His court accompanied him. Already the Tartar multitudes appeared in sight of the city, and occupied its avenues of escape. Thousands of the fugitives were taken and slain. The emperor stopped not till he had crossed the confines of Bavaria. Count Stahrenberg he had appointed commandant of the garrison. He succeeded in introducing, before the Turks arrived, a large reinforcement, especially of cavalry. He employed every inhabitant, of every grade and age, in renewing and strengthening the fortifica-

tions, and despatched messengers to crave the succour and urge to celerity the Duke of Lorraine, in command of the federal army of the Empire, and Sobieski, now King of Poland, with whose prowess the Turks were already well acquainted. The fortifications were hardly placed in a state of defence, when the camp-fires of the Turks and the blaze of burning villages showed that they had crossed the heights which from the east overlook Vienna. On the fourteenth of July (1683), the army occupied the suburbs and laid down their lines. The pavilion of the Vizier was pitched in the suburb of St. Ulric, and emulated in splendour the tent of Sultan Solyman, in 1529. The investment of the city was soon completed. Before proceeding to assault or bombard, the Vizier took all strongholds and ports which were contiguous to his lines, and dislodged parties of occupation from the environs without the city walls. From the second day of the investment, the Turkish cannon were served without cessation. This persistence of the bombardment, along with the constant discharge of fire-brands and shells, had produced little effect, owing to the strength of the buildings of which Vienna was composed. But in the second month of the siege, dysentery and plague broke out in the city, and proved the most efficient auxiliaries of the besiegers.

The garrison, although weakened by disease, still held out, when a new hope was incited by the news of the approach of armies of relief under Lorraine and Sobieski. Lorraine waited on the Danube till Sobieski joined him with his Poles. On the sixth of August, a dragoon from the Imperialist army appeared in the city, having swum the Danube, and eluded the Turkish sentinels. He bore a despatch from the Duke, urging endurance and resistance till, on the arrival of the Poles, he should attack the Turks and raise the siege. The same emissary departed again for the Duke ; he was taken while passing the Turkish lines. So far from letting the Vizier before whom he was led, obtain any idea of the purport of his mission, he described to him the garrison as in despair, and on the point of surrendering. Frequent communications were conveyed from and to the Duke by soldiers of enterprise, and who, by acquaintance with the Turkish language, and in Turkish dress, were enabled to pass freely and unsuspected through the Vizier's camp. One of them, gaily singing an old Turkish song which he had learned whilst a captive among the Turks, attracted the notice of the Vizier, who took him into his tent, and entertained him with coffee, (which after this siege, first came into use in Germany).

The Turks now began to assault ; mines made large gaps in the walls. But the defenders held

the breaches against storming parties, or sallied into the lines, while the ramparts were assiduously rebuilt. Sallying parties frequently brought back herds of oxen from the Turkish camp, a welcome capture, as food had in the city increased in value twelve times, so great was the scarcity.

Sobieski had not yet arrived.. Lorraine dared not attack the Turks with his insufficient army, and the condition of the garrison was becoming hopeless; famine and disease were doing more than the assaults of the besiegers, although the sickly garrison could not keep up with the destructive mines, and the walls were in many places heaps of ruins. But the besiegers, too, were becoming dispirited, fearing that they might not effect an entrance before Sobieski arrived.

At noon of the twelfth of September, a mist, which had obscured the height of Kahlenberg, as it cleared away before the sun's warm rays, discovered the glittering lances of the Polish horsemen crowning the height. The succour, long and eagerly wished for, had arrived, and deliverance was at hand. The Turks left their foremost lines, the miners emerged from their mines; the outposts were withdrawn; all swelled the array, which, turned from the city, formed in the plain to receive the Germans and Poles. The Christian army, after a benediction from the pious Capuchin, Marco Aviano, descended to the fight, led by the

great Sobieski, clad in bright blue, and attended, as always in battle, by two horsemen, one carrying his shield, covered over with heraldic emblazonments, the other bearing a white plume on a lance. The Turks well knew him. In their last war, often had he led into their ranks his compact host of lances. Having harangued his host, he said, "Follow me, the time is come for the young to win their spurs." Five cannon shots signalled the advance of his whole line. The left wing, under the Duke of Lorraine, first felt the enemy. The whole line was immediately engaged. The elector of Bavaria commanded the centre; Sobieski himself commanded the right wing. The Vizier led the main body of the Turks; the Pashas of Pesth and Mesopotamia he set over the wings. The Christians steadily advanced, becoming engaged as their line deployed into the plain. The Turks yielded, and retired from ravine to ravine. When they had reached the plain, and emerged from the woods and defiles of the Wenersberg, the Polish cavalry formed along the van. "Live, Sobieski," ran along their line. They rushed forward, lance in rest, and sabre brandished. While the Poles had been forming, Mustapha had been bringing up reinforcements, and the Poles were received as on a rock. A body of Hulans were surrounded, but a way of retreat was cut through the Turkish closed ranks for them by the

Bavarians. Sobieski brought up his second line, covered the retreat of his cavalry, and pressing steadily forward, drove back the Turks upon the glacis of their camp. It was already evening, and Sobieski occupied this advanced position with cavalry alone. A ravine intervened, and cannon glared upon him from its farther bank; he hesitated for a moment, when his brother-in-law, the Count Maligniz, brought up a division of infantry. With this support, and waiting not for the artillery, Sobieski resolved to advance. He led his troops in the direction of the Vizier's pavilion, whose crimson hangings glowed in the effulgence of the setting sun. "By Allah! the King is really among us," exclaimed the Turks, they fell back, the firm set lances carried them forwards, or speared them to the ground. The Vizier fled, cursing and in tears: Sobieski's banner waved above his tent.

The battalions of Lorraine, with more difficult ground to cross, steadily advanced and were nearing the camp when the shouts of the Poles, and their up-reared standard, told them that it was taken. The Turks fled in every direction. The Margrave Louis, with a regiment of dragoons, was the first to reach the city. He entered at the Scottish gate; the garrison sallied and assisted in the rout. The fugitives stayed not in their flight till Raab, held by a garrison, furnished a rallying point.

Sobieski saved Vienna. Europe is indebted for its safety, Austria for its existence, to Venice, Hungary, and Poland. These states fought the battles of Christendom against the Moslem, and saved the Rhine, the Po, and the Vistula, perhaps the Thames and the Garonne, from washing Ottoman shores and towns. But for Venetians, Hungarians, and Poles, but for Doria, Hunyades, and Sobieski, the crescent might have waved over St. Peter's and Nôtre Dame; the Cantons of Switzerland and the petty states of Germany might have been Moslem pashalics; the Teuton, the Frank, and the Lombard, might have met the fate of the Albanian and the Greek.

How has Europe rewarded her defenders? How has the subject-hated but treaty-supported family of Hapsburg shown its gratitude for the preservation of its dominions? Let an enslaved Venice, no longer the Queen of the Seas, reply. Let butchered Poland, and Russia-subdued Hungary reply.

Let the extinguished hopes of Italy, let the massacred students of Warsaw, let the ladies flogged in Hungarian market-places, make answer. Praised be God, blessed be His providential and retributive government, a time will come, when, if too late to re-instate these states—the palladia and bucklers of Christendom—in the rights to which their gallant deeds and their noble sufferings

have doubly entitled them, it will not be too late to visit upon Austria and her Muscovite fellow-butcher the wrath and retribution which the unappeased blood of patriotism demands; when it will not be too late to compel her involuntarily to concede by her fall and debasement a meed of reverence and acknowledgment to the Pole and Hungarian who saved her from destruction. And may God avert from England and other Christian states the fate to which their complicity and connivance at the foul injury, in strict justice, renders them liable.

CHAPTER XI.

THE news of the repulse of the Turks before Vienna spread through Europe. Turkey had ceased for some generations to be, as Knolles termed it, "the terror of the Christian world." And the Christian states of the West had been engaged by "Thirty Years' War," by wars of the Fronde, by rebellion of Puritans and their retributive persecution. Europe, too, had hardly known the danger till it learned the deliverance. But not the less was its joy at the news of Sobieski's victory. The old spirit of the Crusades for a time revived. Songs were sung in every capital expressive of the popular exultation. The following is from a broad-side, dated London, 1683:—

I.

Now, now is the siege raised,
And the numerous train
Of the Turks, Jove be praised !
Are defeated again ;
Their Mahomet's aid
They in vain did implore,
And they swear they'll not trust
The dull god any more.

The sham of the load-stone
At last they have found,
And their god is condemned
To be laid under ground.

II.

Let the English give praise,
Let all Christendom joyn.
In singing of lays
To the powers divine
Vienna once more
Hath the victory won,
And the Turks, though so mighty,
Are put to the run.
The gyant Goliah
By David was slain ;
Thus who fight against Heaven,
Do fight but in vain.

III.

The Grand Vizier's fled,
In vain he did boast,
And 'twill cost him his head,
Since the battle he lost.
His army of thousands,
He invincible thought,
Yet they by few hundreds
To confusion were brought ;
To the great King of Poland
Let the honour redound,
Whose actions with credit
And fame do abound.

IV.

To the Duke of Lorrain,
Great praises are due,
Who had fought but in vain,
If proud words had proved true ;

At the Emperor's threats
He laughed in his sleeve,
And all his great proffers
He scorned to believe.
But great as he was,
He withstood all their charms,
Choosing rather to dye
In his countrymen's arms.

Sobieski assumed the offensive and followed up his victory vigorously. The Turks retreated on their whole frontier. A panic and apathetic indifference possessed them, and Sobieski took fort after fort. The important places of Buda and Gran fell into his hands. The infuriated populace at Constantinople, ready in all ages to visit upon individuals the responsibility and atonement for general disasters, demanded the head of the Vizier. The Sultan was compelled to accede.

The news of Sobieski's victory infused emulative energy into the Venetian republic. It declared war, obtained auxiliary ships and troops from Rome and Tuscany, and renewed in the Morea and on its shores its ancient victories and its ancient ascendancy.

An alliance, offensive and defensive, between the Emperor, Sobieski, and the Czar, ratified and established the conquests made by Lorraine and Sobieski, and designed a further encroachment on the Ottoman confines. The Turks attributed all to the expedition against Vienna.

Solyman had, dying, left an injunction to his successors never again to undertake his great enterprise. The Vizier had already perished a victim to the national rage and disappointment. Solyman's command called to recollection, suggested to the minds of the people the Sultan himself as responsible for the national disgrace and calamity, as the willing and determined violator of his revered ancestor's injunction. The Ulema, or Sacred College, echoed the murmurs of the populace. A signal defeat sustained at Mohacz, the scene of the "destruction," generations before, when the Osmanli was in the full tide of his early conquest, of the flower of the Frankish chivalry, gave fresh fuel to the popular feeling. The Sultan was dethroned by the solemn decree of the Ulema, and by the general voice of the people. He passed the remainder of his days in a prison.

The new Vizier, Sciaus Pasha, had been the agent in effecting the deposition of Mahomet. He overcame the reluctance of Solyman, deterred by his brother's fate, and conscious of his incompetency for the crisis, to ascend the throne. The spirit of insubordination which Sciaus had fomented and turned to account in attaining the deposition of Mahomet, it was impossible to allay. The national coffers were drained. Sciaus omitted on the installation of Sultan Solyman II., the customary largess to the household troops.

They rose in rebellion, sacked the houses of the ecclesiastical and civil magnates, violated the sanctity of their seraglios, and slew the Vizier. Not till the sacred standard of the Prophet was unveiled in the Hippodrome, did the citizens rally round the Ulema, and offer their aid in quelling the revolt. But insurrection followed insurrection. Vizier after vizier was slain. The office found as rapid changes of occupancy as under the ferocious Sultan Selim. The continued successes of the Christian armies filled up the cup of national calamity. Agria, Peterwardcin, and Belgrade, "the key of Hungary," were taken. The Sultan sued for peace. But Austria demanded the cession of Servia, Bosnia, Croatia, and Esclavonia. Hungary and Transylvania had already accepted the Emperor as their king. The Imperial envoys also demanded a large sum towards defraying the expenses of the war. The Porte was in a dilemma. The exigency was tremendous. But the terms of extrication were enormous. The Sultan and his ministers craved time for consideration, and were as yet undecided, when a most unexpected *Deus ex Machina* appeared in the person of an ambassador from Louis XIV. of France, urging the Sultan to maintain hostilities, and act against Austria in concert with an army, four hundred thousand strong, which he was marching against its western frontier.

The Sultan resumed hostilities. At first he was more unfortunate than ever. Twenty thousand corpses lay on the fruitless fields of Raparowitz and Nissa. But the scale turned, and the change was co-incident with the appointment to the Vizierate of another Kioprili, son and brother of the two former great Viziers of that name. He replenished the exhausted exchequer. His enthusiasm proved universally contagious, and drew volunteers in more than sufficiency to the standards. He restored vigour and hopefulness to every department of the state. He headed the army in person. Early in 1690, he marched into Hungary with eighty thousand men. He laid siege to Nissa, which had fallen into the hands of the Austrians, after their defeat of the Turks under its walls. He reduced it. The Austrians held Belgrade, had renewed its fortifications and garrisoned it with an ample and well-equipped force. Kioprili invested it. His plans were altered. He was necessitated to the choice of an assault by the report of the advance of the Prince of Baden with an army to the relief of the garrison. A bomb from his trenches fell into the magazine, blew it up and levelled the contiguous rampart. Kioprili chose the auspicious moment, and led an enthusiastic party to the breach. The defenders, in a momentary panic, retired. Kioprili led in his troops unopposed. Belgrade was theirs. The

garrison all escaped across, leaving only bodies charred and blackened by the explosion. Kioprili marched to relieve Temeswar, held by one of his generals, and took Lippa and Orsova. After his brilliant campaign, which had done so much to redeem the losses which followed the repulse at Vienna, he returned to Adrianople to receive the thanks of his master and the acclamations of his fellow-subjects. The Sultan died suddenly, immediately upon his Vizier's return.

He was succeeded by his brother, Achmet II., of an affable and lively temperament—in this pleasingly contrasting with his recluse predecessor—scholarly, a musician and a poet. His brother Mahomet, the recent Sultan, was still alive, in prison. Sir Paul Rycaut, who was English Consul-General at Smyrna during both their reigns, describes the kindness of Achmet to his imprisoned and degraded brother. “In his jovial humours he would sometimes make visits to his disconsolate brother Mahomet, singing and playing before him with his instruments, bidding him be merry, and telling him he should not lament his fortune. ‘I have been,’ said he, ‘a prisoner for forty years, during which time you were Sultan, and did what you pleased; now my time is come, and yours may return.’ And then he would take his instruments, and play and sing, saying, ‘Brother, you have let me live, and so shall you, and be merry.’”

The popular love for Kioprili continued and increased. He had to refuse many recruits for his armies: they came to him in superabundance. His arrangements completed, he again set out for Hungary. He risked the result of the campaign upon a pitched battle, which he offered the enemy near Peterwardein. He had almost achieved a victory, when his death dispirited his troops and deprived them of a leader. Fortune, ever fickle, perched upon the Austrian standards. The Ottomans were driven from the field—on it or in the waters of the Danube fell twenty-five thousand of Kioprili's noble army.

The next four years were undistinguished by any important field operations. In 1695, the Sultan died. His son and successor, Mustapha II., had attained at his accession, the ripe age of thirty-three. He combined in quality and in appearance every manlike energy and every bewitching grace. A life of seclusion and study in the palace had complemented the acquirements learned in his early youth in the camp. Decision and vigour at once characterized his administration. His affability was not of the kind which is the fruit or concomitant of complaisant and simpering apathy. He distinguished his accession by certain acts of conspicuous but necessary severity—the banishment of a recent and intriguing Sultana, the deposition of the Kislar Aga, and the

Mufti, and the death of his father's Vizier. Mustapha had to retrieve much of national disaster by sea and land. He headed his troops in person. He was opposed by Frederic Augustus, Elector of Saxony, who now commanded the forces of the Emperor. His lieutenant was Veterani, not unillustrious as a strategist. The Sultan with fifty thousand attacked Veterani with ten. Mustapha won the day, but it cost him ten thousand men, and he dared not follow up his dubious victory. His second campaign brought him more unqualified success. He captured all the Imperialist artillery, and forced the Elector to retire upon the farthest base of his operations. He returned to Adrianople in triumph, with his captured prisoners and cannon.

Europe had now arrived at one of those recurrent epochs, when, generally after long-sustained wars, the Balance of Power is re-adjusted, and its violations rectified; when the boundaries of states are re-defined, and the mutual interdependencies of vassal provinces established. The treaty of Ryswick afforded to Mustapha an excellent opportunity of obtaining a just settlement with Austria. And this too especially, as the ratification of the treaty involved a pacification between France and Austria, the cessation of hostilities on Austria's western frontier, and the consequent liberation of her troops and resources

from every necessity but that of the prosecution of the war on the Danube. But Mustapha had not yet wiped out the stigma affixed to his banners at Vienna and in the reverses which succeeded. He had not yet fought his way back to the former frontier ; and he made no overture for peace. In the campaign of 1697 he was opposed by Prince Eugene, who had first faced a foe under Sobieski at Vienna, sixteen years before. On the Theiss he met the Turks, and signally routed them ; thirty thousand was the number of their killed and wounded.

Eugene passed into Bosnia, and was occupying all its fortified places, when further success was denied him by the peace of Carlowitz, which materially reduced the Sultan's frontier, and gave the Venetians the Greek peninsula. Under his reverses Mustapha's popularity vanished. There were not wanting recent precedents for deposition. Mustapha saw what impended, and with a policy the reverse of tyrannic, which in such positions, and in the history of no dynasty more invariably than that of Ottoman, is always fratricidal, with a rare magnanimity and prudence, abdicated in favour of his brother Achmet.

CHAPTER XII.

WE have marked the commencement of a former reign, that of Sultan Solymán the Great, as the epoch of the entrance of the Turkish History into the history of modern times. With the Sultan, the principal events of whose reign we now chronicle, Turkey entered the eighteenth century, and its history during that period bears in some measure the impress of that century's peculiar features.

The grand characteristic of the eighteenth century was the death or rather the prevalent deadness of earnestness, enthusiasm, and fanaticism in religion and opinion. No longer did the pure gospel tenets of Waldenses and Albigenses shine all the brighter by the reflected glare of the pyres which burned their martyrs. The feuds of the Fronde were forgotten, or at least their religious aspect lost. Persecuted Puritan and Covenanters were represented by tolerated Seceder and Nonconformist. The deep wounds which Germany had sustained during her "Thirty Years'

War" were healed, and matter of history. Apathy and insincerity reigned over Christendom.

A special external characteristic feature of the eighteenth century was its strategy and warlike demonstration. It was a century not of war but of campaigning; not of battles but engagements; of strategists not warriors. Its generals were not heroes but tacticians; the only exceptions being Frederick of Prussia and Charles of Sweden. Its representative generals were Marlborough, Eugene, and Brunswick.

In this century it was that dynasties, not peoples, fought; it was crowns and frontiers, not principles and dogmas, that were fought about. War truly in this century, without any moral alleviation or the smallest limitation of meaning, was what Swift has pungently called it—

"That *mad game* the world so loves to play,
And for it does so dearly pay."

The great problem of the eighteenth century—the problem which its strategy and consequent and concomitant diplomacy went to settle, was the establishment of the European System; in other words, the settlement of the Balance of Power; more specially the adjustment of the claims to dominancy and headship of the houses of France and Austria; an adjustment, however, which was all through the century constantly retarded and postponed by the splendid energy of England and

the consummate strategy of Prussia; an adjustment which was in the end completely violated and overthrown by the French Revolution, and the meteoric, but efficient and practical genius of Napoleon.

By these characteristics of the century, whether permanently affecting it morally, or in external facts to be inductively gathered from its history, was Turkey permanently and materially affected. The fact of its insincerity in religion and the death of fanaticism was, in other words, and as far as Turkey was concerned, the removal of the only wide and efficient objection to its admission into the European system—to the possibility of its alliance and assistance to any of the Christian powers, as necessity dictated to them the desirability of seeking auxiliary strength.

We have seen in previous reigns, but only in few instances, and at long intervals, the alliance of Turkey sought by certain of the Christian states against others. As when Queen Elizabeth, founding her plea on the ground of the hatred of idolatry and image worship, common to the Protestant Englishman and Moslem Turk, sent an embassy for succour from the Sultan against the power whose Armada menaced her shores. More recently, we have seen Louis XIV. scruple not to reckon the aid of the Turks against Austria; but it was not till this century—not till the epoch of

the War of the Succession, and the wars waged between Charles XII. and Peter the Great, and under the influence of the features of public polity and civil history to which we have adverted, that Turkey was on system, and with any degree of frequency, involved in the embroilment of the wars which affected and tended to establish the European System and the Balance of Power.

Achmet III. was girt with the scimitar of Othman in 1702. He found all Europe at war, war enkindled by the ambition of the Bourbon king of France. France sustained against Austria, the latter assisted by England and Holland, its pretensions to the succession to the crown of Spain. France had much need, from the number and importance of her foes, to endeavour by any policy to engage them in any other hostilities, and thereby curtail their resources as available against her. Louis endeavoured to induce Achmet to commence hostilities against Austria. But recent reverses and dearly purchased successes had taught the Turk wisdom. The Sultan resisted the overtures made by the emissaries from Versailles.

The War of the Succession settled, Europe was again at peace. The next war which agitated it concerned one of Turkey's nearest neighbours; and she did not escape being involved. In 1700, an alliance had been entered into between Poland,

Denmark, and Russia, against Sweden; its principal object being the recovery of Sweden's Trans-Baltic conquests of Livonia and Esthonia. Shortly after the commencement of hostilities, Charles XII. of Sweden, a lad of eighteen, defeated at Narva, the Russian army, (in number ten times exceeding the Swedish,) commanded by the Czar Peter. In successive campaigns Charles achieved fresh greatness. Achmet sought his alliance in 1707. And Charles set on foot friendly arrangements. Charles fought his way to the territories of the Ukraine Cossacks, and gained the welcome alliance of their Hetman, Mazeppa.

Meanwhile, during Charles's successes, Peter had been training his barbarian hordes in the school of their own defeats; and they were becoming more and more worthy to meet the warlike Swedes. At Pultowa they achieved their first victory. It was decisive. Charles's army was annihilated. He sought refuge and found protection in the territory of the Sultan, who, a few years before, from policy and interest, had sought his alliance. Charles sought by every means to induce the Sultan to declare war, and take the field with him against the victorious Czar; but the cautious Achmet declined complicity in active measures, and declared his determination to adhere to the neutrality which had obtained since the peace of Carlowitz.

The Czar was equally anxious with the Sultan to prevent any rupture, and sent a special embassy to Constantinople to counteract the efforts of the emissaries of Charles. The ships which contained the Czar's envoys boldly sailed up, and cast anchor before the Seraglio, a mortal insult to the Porte. Achmet demanded reparation and apology. They were refused. A Vizier of pacific counsels, one of the Kioprili family, was dismissed. The war ministry which came in induced the Sultan to proclaim war. An accident thus produced for Charles the consummation which the representations of his envoys had failed to effect. The new Vizier left Adrianople with an immense army, and marched into Bessarabia, where Charles, with the remnant of his army, remained. The Czar, by June (1711), had eighty thousand men encamped on the banks of the Pruth. The treachery of his vassals deprived him of the supplies on which he had counted. Famine invaded his camp; and two hundred thousand Turks and Tartars surrounded it. Compelled by necessity, but only in deference to the urgency of his Czarina, Catherine, he offered the Sultan favourable terms, comprising a cession of territory and a subsidy. The principal concession was a relinquishment of his naval preponderance on the Sea of Azov, and the destruction of the fortresses with which he had lined its shores.

Charles was indignant that the Vizier had not taken more decided advantage of the position of Peter—had not stormed his camp and annihilated his enfeebled army; and his opinions found some echo at Constantinople and in the Divan. The Vizier was deposed, and Youssouf, Aga of the Janizaries, appointed in his place; but pacific counsels still prevailed. The Sultan, in spite of the angry remonstrances of Charles, and the earnest solicitations of his officers, and even of his favourite Sultana, refused again to erect the horsetails. He lost an opportunity of assailing Russia which neither he nor any successor ever again possessed.

Achmet, having thus settled hostilities with the Czar, resolved to attempt the conquest of the Morea, still held by Venice. Only eight thousand Venetians held this province. And the first intimation of the intended invasion was the arrest of the Venetian ambassador at Constantinople; and this only occurred when the well-equipped fleet destined for the enterprise sailed from the Bosphorus.

The Morea would have changed masters, and at its first occupation, had not the Emperor of Germany interposed to save it; and this without, or, at least, independent of, solicitation by Venice, but as a party to, and as bound to maintain the conditions of, the peace recently concluded at Carlowitz.

Achmet accepted the more important war, and despatched every soldier he could spare to his Austrian frontier. His generalissimo, the foolhardy Courmourdzi, was opposed by the great Prince Eugene. A pitched battle was fought at Peterwardein. Eugene took up an entrenched position. Having allowed the energy of the Ottomans, squandered early in the day by their leader, to weary and exhaust itself against his well-manned lines, he let loose into the plains his cavalry, under Count Palfy, who broke the array of the Turks, and swept them from the field.

Nothing dispirited, Achmet risked another campaign. The caution of the new commander Atchi was inadequate to obviate a calamity, the counterpart of that which had been facilitated in the previous campaign by the recklessness of Courmourdzi. Prince Eugene pushed on to Belgrade. Thirty thousand Turks held it. A still larger force attacked Eugene before he had completed his lines. In spite of consummate valour and leadership, the Turks sustained a third defeat at his hands, and left him all their stores and baggage. Belgrade surrendered, and every fort in its neighbourhood opened its gates to the victor.

Achmet could equip no more armies. He sued for peace, which, on favourable terms, he obtained, the easier, that war had been declared against Austria by Spain. The treaty of Raparowitz de-

prived Turkey of Servia and Bosnia, maintained the victors in the conquest of Belgrade and Temeswar, and ratified to Venice the possession of the Morea.

Turkey was no sooner freed from war in Europe than she was involved by her Sultan in war with Persia. The Shah was harassed by a formidable insurrection in the provinces which lay nearest to his Turkish frontier. Achmet unscrupulously seized the opportunity to occupy large tracts of insurgent territory. The rebels acknowledged his right to this seizure, and thereby obtained his support in their rebellion against his imperial brother of Persia. Turkey continued to possess her ill-gotten capture until the appearance of Nadir Shah, who ousted from the throne, his by right, the usurper who had occupied it, and drove his ally from the provinces which had purchased his aid.

It was now an almost established precedent in Turkey that no Sultan should continue to rule beyond any reverses which his generals or which fortune procured him. The Janizaries began to murmur about the loss of the province which the blood of themselves and their fellow-soldiers had purchased. They rose in rebellion, and slew the chief officers of state. Achmet, bowing to his fate, anticipated his forcible dethronement, and abdicated in favour of his nephew Mahmoud. He

showed himself the best and the wisest of recent Sultans.

One of the earliest acts of Sultan Mahmoud I. was the destruction of those who had headed the movement which led to the deposition of his uncle. He knew well, that as long as they lived, they would consider him as their debtor for his throne. He was desirous to put an end to the continuance of what was practically a law in his right of tenure. He knew that the instruments of his accession would be the first to counsel to the army the revocation of their gift, on the recurrence of any such contingency as that to which he owed his office.

The event proved the discrimination of the Sultan in his selection of a Grand Vizier. To that office he appointed Topal Osman, Pasha of Silistria. He had attained the ripe age of fifty-five. One of the many vicissitudes of his chequered life was an imprisonment for some time at Malta, to which the pirate captors of a ship in which he was a passenger had conveyed him.

Mahmoud sent Osman to lead his armies against Persia. Near Bagdad he totally defeated Nadir, who in his reconquest of his hereditary provinces and suppression of the flames of rebellion, had hitherto met with no repulse. A second time did Osman conquer. He refused to accede to the petition of Nadir for a cessation of hostilities. He would have inflicted on the Persians still severer

blows, and in all probability conquered for his master provinces which would have given him the command of the waters of the Euphrates, had not an intrigue at Constantinople, which supplanted him at once in popular and imperial favour, denied him necessary supplies and ammunition. The want of these, involved as he was, in a distant region, in a formidable war, changed his fortune, denied him the fruit of his successes, and transferred victory to Nadir. He was himself slain in a defeat which his army sustained. A peace was concluded, in which Persia was confirmed in the possession of her ancient frontier.

Russia, now vigorously continuing under the Empress Catherine the aggressive policy which the genius of Peter had inaugurated, had profited as well as Turkey by the internal disturbances in Persia. She had possessed herself of large tracts between the Black and Caspian Seas, and she had retained them. Catherine now looked to the northern provinces of the Turkish Empire as the field of the next hostile operations of her arms. In 1736 she seized upon Azov, Oczakov, and other towns situate in the Tartar provinces of the Porte. In the year following she concerted a still more general attack on the Ottoman frontier, and incited Austria to simultaneous hostilities. The Sultan, in terror, sued the Austrian Emperor for peace. But he demanded the cession of Wal-

lachia, and the parts of Servia and Bosnia which still remained to the Porte, Mahmoud refused to agree to the terms, great as was the crisis in which he was placed. His Vizier, Ismael Pasha, took the field, and obtained welcome and opportune successes in Servia. In Bosnia, too, the Austrian general was routed, and compelled to retire within his frontier. Elwas, the general who conducted the next campaign against Austria, defeated her army twice and invested Belgrade. His army burned to be led to the assault; but negotiation obviated the necessity of further bloodshed, and spared to the Ottoman the chance of failure, not impossible. The treaty of Belgrade so far modified the treaty of Passarowitz as to restore to Turkey the important place in which it was signed, and to re-establish as its boundaries the Danube and the Save.

Catherine of Russia found her conquests in Crim-Tartary, and the further gains which she had made in Moldavia, while the Sultan was engaged against Austria, more difficult to retain than they had been of subjugation. The treaty of Belgrade, too, had freed the Turkish troops from every other necessity than the maintenance of war with her. She saw that she had somewhat anticipated her opportunity, and consented to the restitution of her gains, and the re-establishment of the former frontier.

The Sultan got well out of the difficulties which, in the confederacy in hostile attempts arranged by Russia and Austria, had threatened to overwhelm him. Some key to the anomaly of his so facile extrication is afforded, when it is discovered that France, ever ready to throw her weight into the scale against Austria, was principally instrumental in bringing about the treaty of Belgrade; and when it is considered that in all probability, had her diplomatic efforts failed, she would herself have taken the field, and created on the Rhine a diversion in favour of the belligerent on the Danube.

Mahmoud, although the occasion was opportune for taking the field against Austria, refused to engage in the general European war, which was terminated in 1748 by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

He enjoyed, during the remainder of his reign, which terminated by his death in 1754, peace on every frontier, except where, on the northern verge of his dominions, ominous movements and occasional inroads accessitated a temporary defensive aspect, and indicated the preparation and tentative exercise of still more formidable plans of conquest on the part of the great northern barbarian.

Mahmoud had, in the early part of his reign, introduced printing into Turkey, and had inaugurated and fomented, by legislation and by personal

endeavour, many measures and movements for the amelioration and the educational culture of his people. But little success crowned his endeavours, and any apparent advance proved itself, by its disappearance after his decease, to have been maintained only by the continuance of his support and countenance.

Othman III., who succeeded Mahmoud, had spent within the barriers of the enervating seraglio fifty-three years of a life, the remainder of which he found, on the death of his predecessor, was to be devoted to the far different occupations of government and of kingship. The wonder is that such a training should have left an atom of the capacity to regulate even the ordinary details of private life.

He proved quite incapable, and resigned himself the tool of the Kiskar-Aga. This functionary adopted, from choice, a policy the counterpart of that to which in England, ten years later, the hated court favourite, Bute, was driven, after his expulsion by an indignant nation from open and responsible office. He sought for himself no higher or more prominent position. But successive Viziers were his puppets. He ruled at once the sovereign and his counsellors; he dictated to the ministers the policy to be advised to the Sultan and the Divan, and persuaded Othman to its acceptance and ratification.

This singular rule was on the whole efficient, but no great emergency, no war, occurred to test it. Othman's reign lasted only three years. His nephew, Mustapha, who had escaped the cruel fate which had overtaken his brothers and cousins, became Sultan (1757), under the designation of Mustapha III.

His Vizier, Raghib, the greatest Turkish minister for nearly a century, maintained pacific relations with every hereditary foe of the empire till his death, and the Sultan continued to avert hostilities by studiously maintaining a similar policy. But in 1768, Russia, now deeming that the plans of conquest, the execution of which in the last war had proved premature, were now ripe for fulfilment, commenced offensive operations.

Catherine interfered in the affairs of Crim-Tartary. Though still a Turkish province, and paying tribute, it was now almost independent of the Sultan, and governed by its own Tartar Khan. She managed to get the Poles embroiled in the disturbance which she had created, and they craved the aid of the Turkish borderers. The Crimea and the provinces on the Dniester, Dnieper, and Pruth were involved, and the Sultan was at last drawn into the hostilities. Catherine's end was gained, and she prepared for the attack on the more noble quarry whom she had allured within her swoop.

Mustapha had by every means avoided war, but, its necessity recognized by him, and no other alternative remaining to him, he made vigorous preparations, and appealed to the enthusiasm of his people. The sacred green standard of the Prophet, only displayed in the greatest emergencies, was unfurled in the Hippodrome. The report of its exhibition thrilled electrically through the empire. The state's necessity was communicated from lip to lip, from the capital to the farthest province. Damascus and Trebizond, Cairo and Tripoli sent soldiers. Of Tartars alone, a hundred thousand came to Constantinople, or waited to join the army on its northward march. The Tartar Khan, Crim Guary, was appointed commander of the host. He had led them to Bender in Bessarabia, where he died suddenly, poison having been administered to him by Turkish jealousy.

In 1769, the Vizier, Mahomet, as general in chief, took the field with two hundred thousand men. The troops were undisciplined, and the leader incapable. Prince Galatzin led for his imperial mistress twenty-four thousand tried veterans. Mahomet compelled Galatzin to raise the siege of Choczim, and followed him in hot haste into Poland. Galatzin retired before him, succeeded in dividing the Turkish army into several bodies, routed some, and struck with panic others. Mahomet had in his hurry neglected to provide

supplies and munition for a campaign in a foreign province. He turned from his enterprize, and, with the remains of his two hundred thousand, fled before the now victorious Russ.

Mahomet arrived at Constantinople only to pay with his life the penalty of his presumption.

Galatzin retraced his course till he arrived at Choczim—it opened its gates to him—there he remained till the Sultan dispatched another host against him. The while Catherine was planning a new harassment to the Turk by the enkindling of hostilities against him in a remote and opposite part of his dominion.

CHAPTER XIII.

WHAT imagination could conceive more diametrical opposites than a Russian and a Greek? How different the sprightly, keen-witted, artistic Greek, with a mental training and culture the result of his noble natural endowment, and of the sunny inspiration of his southern clime, the fruit of his sitting at Olympus' foot, or on the *Ægean* strand, surrounded by gods and heroes; with the scenes ever before him which have been hallowed by his nation's victories over foreign invaders, or by the overthrow of domestic tyrants,—how different the Greek with his mythology and his history, with a mind which could be sublimated by a god-like philosophy into a Plato, or intensified by a no less divine poetry into an *Æschylus*,—how different the men who composed the audiences of Sophocles in the theatre and Demosthenes in the market-place,—who relished the sarcastic humour of Aristophanes, but did not the less love the pathos of the man-discerning Euripides,—how different the nation which sent

forth the band of Leonidas to fight under the shade of the Persian darts at Thermopylæ, which won the fights of Marathon and Salamis,—from the barbarian hordes who cover this earth from Behring's Straits to the Baltic and the Pruth, gazing on no future, seeing nothing but, with downward gaze, the sordid toil to which they are enchained, worshippers of daubs, eaters of tallow and black broth, the slaves in successive ages of successive Emperor-sergeants, lashed and beaten into an imperial unity by knout and rod,—a conglomeration of nations, huge and unformed, with no energy but brute physical force, with no national idea but Panslavism, and that not nation-generated, but dictated and enforced upon the nation by Imperial will and inculcation.

The Greek nation fell at Chæroneæ and Cynoscephalæ; and the Greek mind ceased to culminate as before, at successive epochs, into intellectual heroes and clusters of heroes. The golden rule of Philip of Macedon and the iron rule of Consul Mummius incapacitated the land for producing any future Pindars or Platos. Greek taste and culture, and Greek analytic discrimination remained. But they were transported from Grecian shores with the spoils of Athens and Corinth, and, as exotics, coalesced at Rome, in Roman literature, with the there indigenous Latin vigour, or in Egypt, in Alexandria and eclectic philo-

sophy, with oriental mysticism and phantasy, and with Christian faith.

This latter remnant of the achievements and the capacities of the Greek mind outlasted everything else of Hellenic nature in the Byzantine empire and in the Byzantine church, and furnished to the idiosyncracies of that church, and of that church's polemics and exponents, whatever intellectually and æsthetically characterized them. The Greek element constituted and composed all of Cyril, Chrysostom, and Gregory Nazianzen that was not to be traced to Christianity, and perhaps, in some measure, and in some special cases, to orientalism.

But what a decadence was there! How different Patristic from classic Greek,—and Greeks. How different the Byzantine from the Greek! How inferior the representative Byzantine legislator Justinian to the Greek rulers Pericles and Alexander! how different the representative Byzantine ecclesiastic Gregory from Plato, the high-priest of Greek religious philosophy,—from Plato the father of all that is grand and divine in speculation since his time! What a wretched inferiority in the representative Byzantine controversy, that between the Monophysites and their opponents, and the representative Greek controversy, that between Platonists and Aristotelians concerning the nature of ideas,—a controversy

involving all that for centuries Scotists and Thomists, Realists and Nominalists, controverted. The Byzantine mind, the Byzantine literature were great,—but when compared with the classic Greek how egregiously small and insignificant.

The taking of Constantinople came, and all of Byzantine culture perished, or was dissipated over Christian Europe, and lost in and appropriated by the dawning literature of each nation.

In our own times Greece has been politically freed. The incubus of two millenniums has been removed. Their history has been antedated to the era of Chæroneæ. But the yoke of despotism had remained too long. No revival of Grecian literature, no gushing forth of ancient Hellenic lyric feeling supervened upon the re-achievement of Grecian freedom. We looked for a revived Hellenic nation. There appears only a federacy of Albanian and Romaic tribes.

What literature there is, is in a measure exotic, vamped and lauded by a section of foreign classic enthusiasts; but no more the adequate product, no more the worthy glory of the Greek soil than her intriguing and unpatriotic court, no more than her alien and ungenial puppet-king. We must confess it—Greek literary power is extinct. The Greek classics will meet no rivals from their Christianized regions, in their modern representatives. What remains of the Hellenic mind we

ourselves possess in the Greek classic authors, and the personal mental training which they have contributed to produce.

Only one modern nation makes higher pretence. Only one nation assumes to herself more of the representation of else lost Greek peculiarities and characteristics than has accrued generally to modern peoples. One nation, and one alone, prefers a special claim to the assumption and exposition of Greek ideas and Greek rights. One nation, and one alone, demands to have placed to her account, to have estimated as her special historic antecedents, all that Greek or Byzantine achieved. A bold assumption, an unscrupulous demand. What modern nation approaches the nearest to the Greek, the classic ideal? Some essential conditions of resemblance there must, of a certainty, be, before the special plea of detailed peculiar similarity is set forth. A nation which assumes to represent in any measure the Greek people and the Byzantine empire, must, of a surety, inhabit a sunny clime, a land of olives, vines, and myrtles, a land of dryads and nymphs, a land of sacred associations, a land of fields where freedom was asserted, of scenes where genius first drew breath. Shall we seek the representative of Greece on the Adriatic shore? Italy can class a Dante and a Petrarch with a Hesiod and an Anacreon. She can give an Angelo for a Phidias, a Raphael for a Parrhasias.

In the story of her republics she can rival the story of the Grecian states. She can point to Venice, and rival the maritime glories of Attica and the Ionian colonies. She can refer to Pavia, a modern Marathon, to Lepanto, a greater Salamis. But Italy claims not the honour.

Spain can glory in the Moorish and Morisco clement, which orientalizes her character, as the remains of Egyptian and Phœnician origin did the Greek. Against the exploits of Agamemnon she she can set the deeds of the Cid Alonzo de Biven, and the discoveries and conquests of her maritime adventurers she can adduce as a meet parallel to the achievements of the Ionian colonies and of Xenophon's ten thousand. But Spain claims not in any sense the special representation of ancient Greece.

France, with Racine and Corneille, professes not to rival the dramatic glories of Athens, boasting her illustrious triad of tragedians. Neither does she, proud of the philosophic achievements of Abelard, Malebranche, and Descartes, pretend to approach the glories of Athens, owning the still more illustrious philosophic triad, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle.

Nor do the Teuton peoples who inhabit Germany, Scandinavia, and the British Isles make any such pretensions; although the representatives of the mental peculiarities of the Teuton race and its subdivided nations are Shakspeare, Scott, and

Schiller, although the historic exemplars of their active energies are Cromwell, Luther, Gustavus.

The nation which, in modern times amongst us, makes the assumption of the representation of Greece and Byzantium, is that very conglomeration of heterogeneous races, knit together by the factitious bond of the iron rule of the dynasty of Wassilowitsch, which goes under the general name of the territory of its dominant race, Russia—the northern bear—the anomalous but tremendous representative and expression of everything that is antagonistic to progress and freedom.

The great dominant idea which regulates the policy and the aggressive course of the Czars is Panslavism—a strong faith in a fate, a strong determination to work that fate into perfect realization, to make the inhabitants of the earth the slaves of the Slave, to bind the Greek, the Italian, the Teuton with the same chains that even now gall the Tartar, the Fin, and the Pole.

But this grand idea is esoteric, and of too immense compass, even if it were politic to assert it, for popular comprehension, too grand to deal out as an inspiring and intoxicating war-cry to tools and votaries. The idea of Panslavism, according to Russian intent, is to be achieved and realized bit by bit. Special, exoteric, popular objects of achievement are to be held out and proclaimed by the priests of the grand conspiracy, as the

revealed links of the hidden, evolving chain of Panslavism. And the first and preliminary popular and openly asserted cry or watchword is that representation of Byzantine civilization, more especially of Byzantine Christianity, and most especially of Byzantine empire, which Russia arrogates.

There has been current in the East for more than a thousand years, a prophecy or foreboding that Byzantium should be ultimately occupied as the seat of a mighty empire by a great power from the north. No doubt the alarm caused in early Christian centuries by Hun and Lombard invasions generated the fear. And from fear to foretelling, from dread to destiny, history tells us is but a small, an easy step. An old record in a public square in Constantinople remains to testify the antiquity of this prophecy. In curt but mysterious terms it says, that one day a tribe called ROS shall reign in the city of Byzas and Constantine.

The Turks have been infected by the mysterious foreboding with which the very atmosphere of Constantinople seems to infect the mind of every successive occupant. In their own belief they occupy Constantinople and Europe only for a time. They enjoin the burial of their bodies on the Asiatic side.

This prophecy, this foreboding, Russia has gladly taken advantage of. Her Greek Chris-

tianity has furnished in the eyes of others a further confirmation of her destiny. To herself it has constituted a means, than which no other could have been better, of organization and policy. It has bound to her, heart and soul, the Greek, the helot population of the Turkish empire. With Russia the Porte's Christian subjects have associated every aspiration, every endeavour. Greek priests, Greek merchants, Greek interpreters, Greek pirates, Greek consuls, Greek soldiers and adventurers, have all been Russia's agents and tools, either employed as such by her, or merely as strong believers in her pretensions and promises.

This idea then, of Byzantine empire, has been Russia's first great object, the first revealed link in the chain of imagined Panslavism; that it is only a link in a mighty chain, is confirmed by the fact that already Russia has betrayed what, upon the attainment of this first object, she designs as her next and succeeding exoteric pretence and blind.

Desirous to obtain the alliance and support of America in the contest in which she is now engaged, or at least to throw obstacles in the way of any alliance between the United States and their parent country, she has been tickling the American ear by proclaiming that only two kinds of government are possible, both consistent, desi-

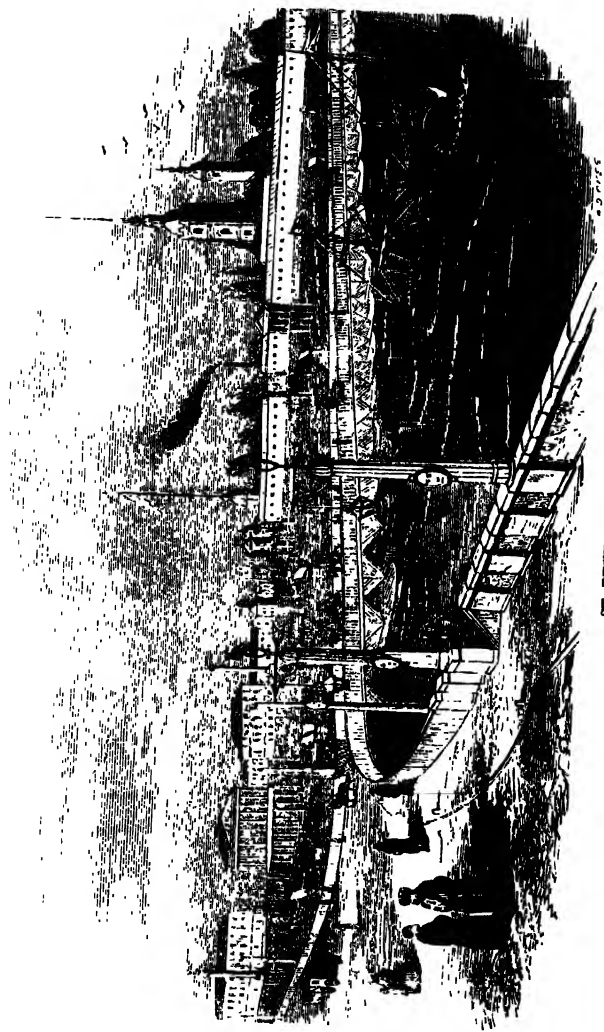
rable, and worthy of preservation — autocracy and democracy, the governments administered at Washington and at St. Petersburg. Constantinople once hers, her fleets once in the Archipelago and the Levant, her barbaric Kremlin churches once built in Athens and Smyrna, Russia would no doubt proclaim her intention of abolishing all limited monarchies and semi-autocracies which filled the gap between the rules of the President at Washington and the Czar at Constantinople.

Whether the Czar will ever find occasion to assert and proclaim this second link in the chain of developing Panslavism, let Alma and Sebastopol tell !

The special organization and policy adopted by Russia towards the achievement of her first great end of Byzantine empire, was first openly and unmistakably revealed at the epoch in the Turkish history at which we have now arrived ; where we again, after this considerable, but not irrelevant digression, resume our narrative record.

We left Muratpha III. at the end of the campaign in Poland, in which his army was annihilated by the Russian general Galatzin.

The Czarina continued hostile demonstrations against the Sultan on their mutual frontier, but also occupied a field for war as yet untried by her. The Sultan had reconquered the Morea from the Venetians, and occupied it with only a few thou-



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sand soldiers, garrisoned in its cities. Catherine, believing that the smallness of the force which held it constituted her opportunity, and having had Russian and Greek ecclesiastical emissaries working for some years on the minds of the Greek population, and misled as to the ripeness of the machinations which she had incited, sent round Europe and through the Mediterranean a formidable fleet, with an army on board; but the force proved too small. The Greeks, although willing to perform secret services for the invaders, as spies, guides, and informants, doubtful of the result, sceptical of Russian success, refused to act overtly, and take the field with their co-religionists. The descent of the Russian army upon the Morea, effected at Coron, failed entirely. The troops were immediately re-embarked.

The fleet cruised about the Archipelago, took several of the Turkish islands, and gave the Ottoman fleet battle between the isle of Scio and the Anatolian mainland. The Turkish vessels, ill steered, badly officered, and inefficiently commanded, were urged into a small bay on the shore of the mainland. The Russians choked up the mouth of the bay, and sunk or blew into the air every Turkish vessel.

On the Dniester the Turks were routed, their foes led by the young Suwarrow, the great Russian drill-sergeant and general. They fell

back to the Danube, and stayed not till they had placed its waters between them and the advancing Muscovite. And the garrisons of the forts which lined its banks evacuated them, joined the fugitives, and left the way open to Ismail, Schumla, Varna, and the Balkan.

Equal success attended the Czarina's arms on the shores of the Sea of Azov, in Crim-Tartary, and on the eastern coast of the Euxine, in the regions of the Georgians and Circassians. Azov and Trebizond were taken or surrendered.

To add to the Porte's reverses and warlike entanglements, insurrections of the most formidable nature harassed the distant provinces of Egypt and Syria. The Pasha of Bagdad reigned as a king; and the Beys of the Barbary dependencies governed provinces, independent of the home government in every respect except the payment of an annual tribute.

In the midst of his and the state's troubles, Sultan Mustapha III. sickened and died, regretted, and his memoirs revered.

A recent Sultan, Othman III., who ascended the throne after spending a life of fifty years within the enervating precincts of the seraglio, evinced, we have seen, immediately on his accession, the imbecility and weakness which such a training could hardly have failed to generate.

Abdul Hamid, the Sultan who now was girt

with Othman's scimitar, had spent a life equally long in the same occupations and in the same durance. But a mind which must have been naturally of a rare and efficient energy had withstood external influence, so potent and so prolonged, and retained on his accession the qualities necessary to rule and statecraft. In the crisis in which the state was entangled on his seizing the helm of affairs, it would have been almost sufficient for his imperial reputation had he preserved his empire from utter annihilation, and retained any atom of his sovereignty.

The Russians continued their aggressions and continued their successes. Before Silistria they achieved another victory. Becoming masters of the intrenched camp at Schumla, they obtained a still greater and consummate success.

The Sultan begged a cessation of hostilities, and offered terms. The peace of Kutschuk-Kainardji was concluded—the first revelation and open diplomatic assertion of the designs of Russia with respect to Turkey,—the first marked step in a course of encroachment, of which future wars and their consequent treaties were the successive and evolving grades.

The treaty of Kutschuk-Kainardji ratified to Russia many gains and advantages. "All the Tartar peoples, those of the Crimea, of the Budjiac, of the Kuban, the Edissans, Geambouiluks,

and Editschkuls," were, " without any exception, acknowledged as free nations." The first step was to detach Crim-Tartary from Turkey ; opportunity was not long wanting for the consummation desired by the Muscovite—a future war, and a future treaty, attached Crim-Tartary to Russia.

Article VIII. of the treaty stipulated for Russian Christians an unimpeded pilgrimage to the holy city and shrine of Jerusalem. An excellent scheme for the maintenance of constant communication between the Russ protector and patriarch and the helot Christians, Greeks, Rayahs, Armenians, Nestorians, right across the Ottoman empire, from Varna and from Trebizond, to Jerusalem.

Article XI. permitted to Russian ships free access to the waters and shores of the Euxine. The next steps to be the Sea of Marmora and the Mediterranean. But Sinope was an ill-judged demonstration. The mast-tops indicating the war-ships submerged in the harbour of Sebastopol, tell us 'hat, for a while at least, no Russian ship shall sail through Bosphorus and Hellespont.

Article XIV. facilitates the views of Russia, by acknowledging in some degree her assumed right to a protectorate of Christians in Turkey.

Article XVI. commences the detachment of "the principalities" from the Turkish empire, as integral provinces.

Time changes all. Sir Edmund Lyons, and Brigadier-General Spencer have effectually violated Articles XVIII. and XIX., which decree as follows:—

“The castle of Kinburn, situated at the mouth of the Dnieper, with a proportionate district along the left bank of the Dnieper; and the corner which forms the desert between the Bug and the Dnieper, remains under the full, perpetual, and incontestable dominion of the empire of Russia.”

“The fortresses of Yenicale and Kertsch, situated in the peninsula of Crimea, with their ports and all therein contained, and moreover with their districts, commencing from the Black Sea, and following the ancient frontier of Kertsch as far as the place called Bugak, and from Bugak ascending in a direct line as far as the Sea of Azov, shall remain under the full, perpetual, and incontestable dominion of the empire of Russia.”

The “corner which forms the desert between the Bug and the Dnieper” proved, on the 15th of October of last year (1855), of considerable value to the allies, as a landing place for the force which possessed them of Kinburn.

Other articles confirm Russia in the possession of Azov, and the two Cabardes.

The Austrian diplomatist, Baron de Thugut, assisted Austria's well-beloved ally in drawing up the treaty. Well might he say, “This treaty

is a model of ability on the part of the Russians, and a rare example of simplicity on the part of the Turks. By the terms of it, Russia will always have the power, whenever she thinks fit, to effect a descent upon the Black Sea. From her new frontier of Kertsch, she will be able to conduct in forty-eight hours, an organized army beneath the very walls of Constantinople. In this case, a conspiracy concocted with the chiefs of the schismatic faith will no doubt break out, and the Sultan will have no alternative 'but to flee to the remotest corners of Asia, after abandoning the throne of the Ottoman empire to a more able successor. The conquest of Constantinople by the Russians may be accomplished off-hand, and even before the tidings of such an intention could reach the other Christian powers."

CHAPTER XIV.

OF all the successive contests in the mutual history of Russia and Turkey, which in each case preceded and produced the acquisition by the one, and the loss by the other, of territories and provinces, that which eventuated in the transfer of the Crimea from subjection to the Ottoman to the rule of the Muscovite is of the greatest historic importance and interest.

The Crimea is certainly not the richest in means and resources of all the once Turkish, now Russian provinces. But its intrinsic value, in connexion with the time of its conquest, and in the light of the then position and necessities of Russia, and with reference to the then state of the mutual frontier of the two empires, all these circumstances and considerations taken together, render the Crimea the most valuable to Russia of its Turkish conquests, the most important as bearing upon further aggression and gain of territory. By the conquest of the Crimea, Catherine obtained a tract of average resources and fertility, with a hardy and brave population. But it was

in the geographical position and local advantages of the peninsula that the value of the acquisition consisted. The Crimea was desirable as possessing, by the fact of its being a peninsula, a large and disproportionate extent of coast, as lying into the Euxine, and as therefore affording previously unenjoyed facilities for the formation and maintenance of a war navy in the Black Sea, by which, in the words we have already quoted from the Austrian diplomatist, Russia would be enabled "to conduct in forty-eight hours an organized army beneath the very walls of Constantinople."

Such, along with its interest to the student of ancient and mediæval history as the scene of battles fought by Mithridates, and a dépôt for Genoese merchandise and traffic, are the associations which, till within the last two years, rendered the Crimea a place of interest to the student of history and the man of intelligence. But how different from the aspects which attract the calm survey of the historic muse, and occupy awhile the unimpassioned historic pen, are the deep-seated, perennial, and heartfelt interests, which now link the warmest and the saddest sympathies of our hearts to that distant shore.

The Crimea is now invested, to every man in whose veins flows Anglo-Saxon blood, with the same sad and sacred interests which attach to the Spanish peninsula, to the plains of Flanders and

the Low Countries, to the Egyptian shore of the Mediterranean, to the rich valleys of the Punjaub, Around the battle-fields of Fontenoy and Waterloo, of Vittoria and Salamanca, around the scenes where Abercrombie and Sale fell, there hangs the same never-dying interest as now consecrates the shores of Alma, a Crimean stream, and Balaclava, a Crimean plain. In days to come, many an Anglo-Saxon and Frankish pilgrim will visit the shores of the Tauric Chersonese. It will be not to explore salt marshes and lagoons, not to visit the ruins, on rugged cliff-tops, of Genoese forts, but to trace the long green ridges which mark the fatal trenches, to wander sadly amid the leafy brushwood, where on the grey morning of Inkerman, the blood of their fathers, each man a hero, was spilt, and to ascend the Alma heights, which Highlander and Zouave scaled ; to gaze down the slope, along which,

“ Stormed at with shot and shell,
Into the jaws of death,
Into the mouth of hell,
Rode the Six Hundred.”

Catherine coveted the Crimea. She had, as the price and reward of recent hostilities, obtained a line of coast on the Black Sea, between the Dnieper and the Dniester. She longed to throw her dominion still farther forward into the Euxine

—by the possession of the Crimea. By the conquest of Kertsch she had possessed herself of the old Mithridatic Panticapæum. She wished still further to strengthen her position by the possession of the wisely chosen sites of the castles built three centuries before by the bold and venturesome Genocse all along the Crimean coast, from Kola to Kozlov. The idea of Sebastopol was already entertained—perhaps matured. And intrigues were immediately set a-going towards the forcible seizure or fraudulent acquisition of the Crimea.

Crimean affairs had been left by the wily and unscrupulous Muscovite in a state fit at any moment for the re-enkindlement of hostilities. The Crimea and all Crim-Tartary had been detached from subjection to the Porte, exercising, indeed, even before the severance, a feeble and merely nominal rule. Freedom of government had been bestowed upon a people, the nature of whose avocations and generic character, equally with the fact of their having been left by the progress of its aggression nearest to the lair of the absorbing barbarian, most accessible and liable to his corrupt and baneful influences, rendered the gift a mere pretence, a mere convenient step towards the consummation of enslavement by Russia.

Dulet Guary, the Khan of the Crimea, whom the treaty of Kainardji had unexpectedly consti-

tuted a nominally independent ruler, continued to favour the cause of the Sultan, and refused to be bought or bribed by Russia into any engagement to take the field, on the resumption of hostilities, against his former sovereign and ally, and who was the holy Padisha and Imam of his Moslem faith.

Russia foresaw the obstruction he would constitute, and resolved to effect his deposition. She employed her unpatriotic minion, Saim Guary, in her scheme, appointing him to the Khanate, and furnishing him with present means and a promise of further assistance towards the maintenance of his pretensions. Count Romanzov took the field against Dulet Guary with a formidable army. He took up his position on the Dnieper, ready to invade the peninsula at the order of his Imperial mistress.

The Sultan was made aware of the intrigues of Russia, and conceived accurately their import and inevitable result. But Turkey still lay under the prostration which resulted from her efforts during the war which the recently effected treaty had concluded. The Sultan saw the madness of again so soon accepting war with such a powerful and unscrupulous enemy, and was compelled to witness, without even remonstrance, the transfer of his recent province to its next position in its course towards annexation to Russia—that of subjection to a tool and puppet of Catherine and her generals.

Catherine's full purpose was not yet attained. Another step was still wanting, that which was to make the Crimea an integral province of the Russian empire, autocratically governed. Crimean affairs had been again purposely left in a state which might at any moment furnish an occasion for another interference by Catherine; and she did not even affect the decency of delay. She fomented a quarrel which had originated between the Tartar governor of Kuban Tartary and his brother, Catherine's own nominee, the Khan of the Crimea. As concerted, he evacuated his Khanate, and fled for protection to the Russian town of Taganrog. Potemkin marched upon the Crimea with sixty thousand men. The Khan was reinstalled. There would have been no pretext for the Russian general's advance, but that the Sultan, on the commencement of the commotion, had occupied with a respectable force his own dependency, the island of Taman. Potemkin clutched at this opportunity for further mischief, and incited the puppet Khan, silly and deluded, the easy instrument of his own dishonour, to demand from the Porte the evacuation of the island. The Sultan refused. The Khan invoked the assistance of Potemkin. His sixty thousand crossed the isthmus, and spread themselves over the peninsula. The mask was now thrown off. Potemkin made his purpose and the drift of his secret instructions

from the Empress-paramour apparent. He compelled the Khan and the Tartar grandees to swear fealty to Catherine, and occupied the Crimea for ever in the name of his Imperial lady. Suwarrow, "who loved blood as an alderman loves marrow," performed a similar office in the continental Kuban. Thanks to Ottoman decadence, Tartar simplicity, Russian bad faith and unscrupulousness, and thanks in no small measure to European, and especially to English, apathy and pusillanimity, the Muscovite two-headed eagle gained another spoil, and on the carcase of his last prey now sat ready to make fell swoop upon a nobler quarry.

We attribute Russia's success in her cherished scheme of Crimean conquest in great measure to the indifference of England. Russia had been the opponent of England in the Seven Years' War, inasmuch as she was the antagonist of Prussia, England's only, but, under Frederick, all-sufficient ally in that great contest. But since that epoch, since the retirement of Chatham from the public councils, especially since his death, since the accession of George III., so thorough a contrast to his decided and energetic grandfather, that old general, George II., since such ministers as Bute, Rockingham, and North had reigned, and given a new character to the national councils and the national deeds, since these ministers had in such consider-

able measure fallen back upon the antecedent furnished by Walpole and Newcastle, declining to maintain the more arduous, but infinitely more glorious policy of Chatham, England had rather affected an alliance with Russia. Not that the designs of Russia, not that the violation of the balance of power, which the fulfilment of these designs was effecting and threatened, were unknown to English statesmen and Englishmen. We find a pamphleteer of this epoch writing, "A spirit of conquest has uniformly marked the conduct of Russia since Peter the Great laid the foundation of that greatness which threatens to overwhelm us. Nothing less than the full possession of Constantinople and the Black Sea, at least, will satisfy her inordinate ambition. In possession of the Euxine at one extremity of Europe, and of the Baltic at the other, she will encircle the fairest and best cultivated portion of the globe."

England did make some feeble diplomatic effort to prevent the conquest of the Crimea. But the same writer truly says, "A British fleet at this instant in the Baltic would perhaps operate more strongly in persuading Russia to restore peace to Turkey, and leave our ally in repose, than all the rhetoric, and all the arguments in favour of equity and expediency that the noble lord in the foreign department, and the two gentlemen on mission at St. Petersburg could possibly advance."

Some modification of the retrospective condemnation of the policy of non-interference adopted by our nation with respect to Russian aggression upon Turkey at this epoch, must be allowed, when we advert to the then position of England,—beaten by her own colony, compelled to acknowledge its independence, at war with Holland, France, and Spain, for three years engaged in the defence of Gibraltar (before the lines were drawn around Sebastopol, the greatest siege of modern times), with an almost open enemy in Scandinavia, bound into one “armed neutrality.” And the contest of the court with Wilkes, and the consideration in parliament of a series of questions typified by the famous proposition, “that the influence of the crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished,” must also be allowed as some apology for a not very vigorous, a not very national, foreign policy. But, all deductions being made, there remains sufficient ground for strong censure on the foreign policy of England at that epoch, when we consider the mighty unrighteousness of Russia’s aggressions, the ancient alliance between England and Turkey, which states had never once been at war; when we know, too, that France proposed to England a joint interference against Russia, as she had previously done when Russia partitioned Poland, absorbing the most part, and throwing scraps to Prussia and Austria. England’s declinature of

the proposals of France in the matter of Poland, and in the matter of the Crimea, does away in a great measure with the alleviative apology we have suggested; for, when Poland was dismembered, no such domestic concerns, no such imposing confederacies of warlike powers paralyzed the national energies, and prevented the free exercise of the national policy of magnanimous intervention. M. Ostrowski, late secretary-general to the administration of justice in Poland, speaks here as one having authority: "The constant predilection of England for Russia, her neglect of Poland, her contempt or indifference for the sentiment of justice or morality date from the eighteenth century. I state this earnestly, desiring that the conscience of England may be awakened to the knowledge of the frightful ills she has shed, or materially aided to shed, on Poland. At the period of the first partition, in 1772, France made an effort to avert this crime. Betrayed by Austria, she proposed a common action on the Baltic. England refused, and watched unmoved the accomplishment of the nefarious transaction, from whose inevitable consequences she now recoils. . . . England in the eighteenth century, separated from France, and yielded to the consequences of the separation; wanting power to uphold an independent policy, she favoured the ambition and aggrandizements of

the Czar; she sacrificed to a mistaken view of interest, liberties, rights, nationalities, even her own security, and became the instrument and accomplice of that Russia she had believed herself able to control. Will she at length abandon this alliance, hitherto disturbed rather than destroyed, retrace her errors, and repair the ills she has heaped on Poland and on other lands? . . . Eleven years after England's abandonment of Turkey and Poland, in 1783, Russia, skilful in employing the folly of others, announced her intention of seizing the Crimea. France opposed the design; her admirable reasoning, her views—clear, prophetic, and marvellously applicable to the present time—failed to convince the British minister. France proposed a common action for the general interest, to limit the Muscovite maritime power. England refused, aiming to conciliate Russia. The French ambassador M. D'Adhemar, said to Mr. Fox, the British minister, 'This passive state of acquiescence is unbecoming England; will that free nation support despotism and arbitrary power?' The King of England nobly replied to M. D'Adhemar, 'I entirely agree with your master, *Europe will become like a desert, there will be no safety for any one.*' Yet in 1783, as in 1772, England authorized Russia to destroy the material equilibrium of states, to overturn the principle of justice and of moral order, to sow the fruitful seed of continual

disturbance ; for all the wars, the troubles, the violences, which have distracted nations up to the present time, have issued from the same inexhaustible and corrupting stem."

Catherine made no secret of her further policy. She wrote in letters of brass on the gates of Kherson, "This is the road to Byzantium." She continued to muster armies in her new conquest, and her minions and spies incited disaffection in all the Turkish frontier provinces. The Sultan, Abdul Hamid, the state being now somewhat recovered from the reverses sustained in the last war, took up arms, and proclaimed war against Russia in 1787. Kinburn, a Russian frontier fortress, taken from Turkey in the last war, was attacked. But the defence, entrusted to Suwarrow, was successful ; and the Turks retired. Catherine had prevailed upon the Austrian Emperor, Joseph II., to commence simultaneous warfare against the Sultan. And, indeed, she hoped and arranged with Austria to deal now the last blow at the enfeebled Ottoman empire, and to divide with Austria all European Turkey. Catherine had almost expected to effect this consummation in one campaign ; but Turkey showed wondrous energy. The Sultan, in the interval of peace, had ruled wisely, and had collected, in secrecy, resources for further resistance to his great enemy. Austria, which had formed the siege of Belgrade, his General and Grand Vizier,

Youssouf, beat from the field. She offered advantageous terms of peace, and concluded with the Sultan the treaty of Sistow. But Russia by herself was a most formidable antagonist. The Turkish fleet was destroyed by the Russians, commanded by the Prince of Nassau. Russia had already inaugurated her now perfected policy of cultivating the alliances and securing the services, open or illicit, of the petty princes of Germany. In the end of the year 1788, Otchakoff, which had valorously sustained a four months' siege, was taken by Potemkin. In the spring of the next year, the Sultan died, and was succeeded by his nephew, the son of his predecessor, who took the designation of Sultan Selim III.

Great expectations were formed by his people of the talents and energies of their new ruler. And the event did not disappoint their expectations. He ascended the throne just in time to conduct and control the campaign of 1789 against the Russians.

The Prince of Coburg commanded an Austrian army in Moldavia. Austria having again taken the field, Suwarrow marched southwards, following the course of the Pruth. The young Sultan raised an army of one hundred and fifty thousand to defend his doubly threatened territories. Forty thousand were sent forward into Moldavia by forced marches. But when they met the Russians,

they sustained a total defeat. By this time the Grand Vizier had arrived in Moldavia with the main Turkish forces. Coburg and Suwarrow effected a junction of their forces, just as the Vizier was beginning to attack Coburg's position. The Russians marched into the fight, without halting to rest themselves after the last stage of their forced journey. Austrians and Russians together numbered only about thirty thousand; but these unquestionably were, at the time, the best soldiers in Europe. The Ottomans were a hundred thousand, but mainly recently levied and unsoldierly peasants and artizans. The battle of Rimnik was but a repetition of the defeat which the advanced forty thousand had sustained. The Turkish army fled dismayed. Its scattered bands stayed not till they had crossed the Danube, and had ensconced themselves within the walls of the fortified places on its southern banks. The principalities were left defenceless. The Austrians spread themselves over all Wallachia, and, crossing the Danube, possessed themselves of large tracts of Servia. Belgrade, Bucharest, and other places of less importance, opened their gates or were taken after a feeble show of opposition. Suwarrow overran all Bessarabia, and soon became master of every town of importance in it, with the exception of Ismail, a strong town on the Kilia mouth of the Danube, the possession of which

would open up the coastward route to Varna and Constantinople. Belgrade and Bucharest were already in the possession of the Austrians. Ismail once taken, a simultaneous advance might be made upon Sophia, Schumla and Varna. And then nothing would remain but the crossing of the Balkan and a descent from its southern slopes upon Adrianople and Constantinople. The siege of Ismail was the culminating point of the campaign. Winter had supervened, when the Russians sat down before Ismail, and they deferred the active operations of the siege till the successive spring (1790).

“The fortress is called Ismail, and is placed

Upon the Danube's left branch and left bank,

With buildings in the Oriental taste,

But still a fortress of the foremost rank,

Or was at least, unless 'tis since defaced,

Which with your conquerors is a common prank ;

It stands some eighty versts from the high sea,

And measures round of toises thousands three.”

Don Juan, Canto vii. 9.

Europe had looked on with gradually increasing interest on the great contest waged between the Czarina and successive Sultans. On Ismail the eyes of all were fixed. Byron in the magnificent description of the siege which constitutes the seventh and eighth cantos of “Don Juan,” says—

“Then there were foreigners of much renown,

Of various nations, and all volunteers ;

Not fighting for their country or its crown,

But wishing to be one day brigadiers ;

Also to have the sacking of a town

A pleasant thing to young men at their years.

'Mongst them were several Englishmen of pith,

Sixteen called Thomson, and nineteen named Smith."

Prince Potemkin at first commanded the attacking force. Under him the siege operations proceeded languidly and with more than dubious success. He occupied an island in the river. On it he mounted two strong batteries. But

"The Russian batteries were incomplete,

Because they were constructed in a hurry."

They did no material damage to the town nor its fortifications. Their fire was so feeble as to tempt the Turks to sally by water in a flotilla of gun-boats; and for a while the Russians were besieged in their island.

Nothing effective had been accomplished on either side. Potemkin had already lost the favour of his imperial mistress. This and his unsuccess at Ismail dictated to Catherine his removal from the command.

"On the thirteenth, when already part

Of the troops were embarked, the siege to raise,

A courier on the spur inspired new heart

Into all panthers for newspaper praise,

As well as dilettanti in war's art,

By his despatches, couched in pithy phrase,

Announcing the appointment of that lover of

Battles to the command, Field-Marshal Souvaroff."

The Turks had imagined that the siege was raised. They were soon undeceived. Suwarrow ordered an assault immediately on his arrival.

“Hark ! through the silence of the cold, dull night,
The hum of armies gathering rank on rank !
Lo ! dusky masses steal in dubious sight
Along the leaguer'd wall and bristling bank
Ot the armed river, while with straggling light
The stars peep through the vapours thin and dank,
Which curl in curious wreaths; how soon the smoke
Of hell shall pall them in a deeper cloak !”

The dead of night was chosen as the time for attack. A thick mist hung over the town, which allowed

“Nought to be seen save the artillery's flame,
Which arched the horizon like a fiery cloud.”

The Turks rushed forth to meet the Russians on their first advance, lighting for themselves a way with the gleam of their musketry.

“The whole rampart blazed like Etna, when
The restless Titan hiccups in his den.”

Russian columns attacked both by land and water, and simultaneously. It was long ere they at any point effected a breach, or gained the summit of the breastworks. At last this point was gained, each pace having cost a hundred lives; but the Turks continued to defend every street, throwing up hasty bastions and barricades. The Cossack battalion was cut to pieces within the town. This force, accustomed to, and valuable only for, warfare in the open plain, was ignorant of siege strategy and siege feints.

"The Turks at first pretended to have scampered,
Only to draw them 'twixt two bastion corners,
From whence they sallied on those Christian scorers."

The possession of each fort and tower was severally contested. The capture of each was followed by the massacre of every inmate. At last

"The city's taken—only part by part—
And Death is drunk with gore ; there's not a street
Where fights not to the last some desperate heart
For those for whom it soon shall cease to beat."

Ismail was lost.

"Suwarrow now was conqueror—a match
For Timon or for Zinghiz in his trade."

All trans-Danubian Turkey was now at the mercy of the Russians, and the stroke which had rendered the Principalities defenceless, had destroyed the last remnant of the army which might have won them back. In Constantinople terror reigned ; Catherine was mistress of the situation ; she had already resisted the importunities of the great European powers to moderate her aggressions, and grant Turkey peace. And there had been nothing else to prevent the consummation of the cherished idea of the conquest of all Roumelia, or European Turkey, and the banishment of the Ottomans from Europe, had not just at this epoch, the French revolution, already causing dread to every despot, and inspiring with hope the breast of every oppressed nation in Europe,

culminated in the declaration by the National Assembly of war against Austria and Russia. Catherine saw the folly of engaging her arms in any grand scheme of aggression, when she might so soon require every available resource to engage, along with sister dynasties, in checking and averting the attacks of the new-born principle of liberty, which in France already evinced such an all-efficient and dangerously contagious vitality.

In January 1792, the treaty of Jassy was concluded, which maintained the frontier as established by the treaty of Kainardji, except that on the north-east, the Bug, instead of the Dniester, became the boundary, giving to Russia more line of coast on the Euxine, and a site for Odessa.

CHAPTER XV.

THE French revolution produced its harvest of wars, in which all Christian Europe was soon engaged. Sultan Selîm resolved to use the interval of peace which the mutual hostilities of the Christian powers allowed, in repairing the breaches which the aggressions of Russia had effected, in renovating the system of government, now in complete disorganization, in subduing revolted provinces, and punishing their rebellious Pashas, and in reconstituting the military and naval establishments. And it was a mighty and difficult task to the performance of which he set himself. For, during the long period in which he and his predecessors had been almost exclusively engaged in the defence of their territories from foreign aggression, abuses had arisen, settled down, and multiplied in every department of the state, and distant provinces had become almost entirely independent of the parent government.

The Janizaries had lost the merest element of discipline, and "were now little better than a

disorderly crowd." In Egypt, Mehemet Ali Bey reigned independently, maintaining his rule by his Mamelukes, whom Napoleon and Murat declared to be the finest cavalry in the world. The fanatical Wahahees ravaged Arabia and the province of Bagdad. Even in the European provinces of the empire, most formidable and prolonged revolts arose. In Servia the Prince Czerni Georges inflamed the patriotism of that once powerful rival of the Ottoman state. Against Paswan, the leader of the rebels in Bulgaria, Selim sent army after army; the last, fifty thousand strong, unsuccessfully besieged him in Widdin. Selim was compelled to acknowledge Paswan Pasha of the province.

To carry his designs of military reorganization and provincial subjection into execution, Selim considered it necessary that his hand should be entirely free from the conduct of hostilities with foreign powers, and he sedulously avoided embroilment with Russia, or any other of the Christian states. But he could not long escape being involved in a war in which all Europe was engaged.

Napoleon Bonaparte had not remained long in Paris, after his return from Italy, to enjoy the triumph earned at Lodi and Marengo. He resolved from policy to direct his special endeavours towards the weakening of British power and ascendancy. And this the more, that no war would be

more popular with the French, than one waged against their nearest neighbour and ancient foe. The Directory wished to invade Britain. Bonaparte saw the folly of this too arduous enterprise. While he formed a camp, and established a large army on the Norman shore, opposite the white cliffs against which beat the waves of the English Channel, he conceived and matured the design of leading an expedition against Malta in the first instance, and then to Egypt. His object was to establish the power and ascendancy of France in the Levant and in the East, and ultimately to invade India, destroy the rule of England and her East India Company in Hindostan, and substitute the tricolour for the Union Jack on the forts which defend the capitals of the three presidencies, and on the regal palaces of Delhi and Benares.

In June 1798, Malta having been occupied on the way, he landed at Alexandria. He professed to invade Egypt as the friend of the Sultan, and to deliver his province from the usurped rule of the Mameluke Beys. Bonaparte soon overran Egypt, breaking the Mameluke power in the well contested, but decisive victory of the Pyramids. The report of the rout, and the frightful carnage which succeeded, spread through the East. The great victory of Sultan Kebir, or King of Fire, as the Orientals denominated the Frankish invader, spread panic into the wilds of further Abyssinia, and the deserts ruled by Wahabee and Bedouin.

The Sultan had not been misled by the professions of Napoleon, but had collected armaments at Rhodes and in Syria. He declared war against France. Napoleon prepared to invade Syria. With fifteen thousand men he took the border fortress of El Arish, marched through the Desert, and first met an Ottoman army at Gaza, in the country of the Philistines. He routed them and took the town. Traversing the coast of Judea, he besieged Joppa, took it after a two days' attack, and delivered it over to pillage and massacre more frightful than it sustained two thousand years before from the army of Alexander Jannæus, Marching along the coast of Samaria and Galilee, Napoleon was stopped next in his meteor course by the strong town, St. Jean d'Acre, the key of Syria, situated opposite Mount Carmel, on the bay into which flows the brook Kishon. Here the Pasha of the province, Achmet Djezzar, "the butcher," had collected his treasures, and had garrisoned the town with the best of his soldiers. Napoleon at once saw the importance of the place. "The fate of the East," he said, "is in yonder fort." He imagined that it would yield as easily as had Gaza and Joppa; but after many days it remained untaken. An Ottoman army of relief had approached Mount Tabor. Napoleon marched to meet it, routed it, and returned to infuse new vigour into the siege. He resolved to

take Acre at whatever price. To Bourienne he said, "If I succeed, as I expect, I shall find in the town the Pasha's treasures, and arms for three hundred thousand men. I will stir up and arm the people of Syria, who are disgusted at the ferocity of Djezzar. I shall then march upon Damascus and Aleppo. I will announce to the people the abolition of servitude, and of the tyrannical government of the Pashas. I shall arrive at Constantinople with large masses of soldiery. I shall overturn the Turkish empire, and found in the East a new and grand empire, which will fix my name in the records of posterity. Perhaps I shall return to Paris by Adrianople, or by Vienna, after having annihilated the house of Austria."

Napoleon would have taken Acre, and the first step at least of this grand scheme would have been achieved, had not the gallant English sailor, Sir Sidney Smith, after defeating a French fleet in the bay, brought ashore the crews of his vessels, held the breach as the brave Ottomans were yielding before the fierce onslaughts of the French, and hurled them back within their lines. Napoleon raised the siege, reluctantly abandoned his designs, and hastened back to Egypt. In July, the Turkish army which had been marshalled at Rhodes landed at Aboukir. Napoleon offered battle, although the Turks were far superior in numbers, and had established themselves in an

excellent position. The infantry were pressed into the sea; the beach was strewed with turbans; most were drowned; a mere tithe were picked up by boats from the English fleet. Murat annihilated the cavalry.

Napoleon secretly left for France, leaving Kleber in command. The English, under Abercromby, expelled the French. The Mameluke power had been greatly weakened by the French. Mehemet Ali, the Pasha, by treachery, effected their extermination, and the Ottoman power was re-established in Egypt, in conformity with the peace of Amiens.

Peace restored, the Sultan devoted himself to the work of military organization and reform. Profiting by the lessons of the contest with Napoleon, he established the Nizam Djeddit, a corps twelve thousand strong, on the European model. This in the face of the murmurs and open opposition of the potent Janizaries. With a daring and excessive temerity the Sultan went so far as to recruit the new corps from the ranks of the Janizaries themselves.

Selim continued, by this course of strenuous, but necessary reform of the military system of the nation, to heap up against him the vengeance of the Janizaries, and of all in the state who were interested in the intact conservation of old arrangements and conditions. But he confidently trusted

that he would be enabled to remain free from further foreign embroilment, and thereby have energies and disposable resources sufficient to meet and restrain the combined opposition which he provoked. And this position he would have been able to maintain, had it not been for the skill of the French ambassador, the personal agent of Napoleon, which availed to again implicate the Porte in the European hostilities, but this time on the side and in the interests of France.

The government of the Danubian Principalities by their Hospodars was the material, under the management of the French diplomatist, worked upon. England was alienated, and she followed the same course as that adopted by Napoleon in the previous war. She invaded the Turkish province of Egypt. The English force, after sustaining many disasters, obtained terms of peace, and re-embarked. Turkey had, by throwing herself into the arms of France, obtained also the hostility of Russia. The Czar sent a fleet into the Archipelago, but Russia, as England, required at this era every available resource for the adequate maintenance of the contest against Napoleon, upon whose eagles fortune had bestowed many successes since his clandestine departure from Egypt. The Russian fleet was withdrawn from the Turkish seas, without inflicting any material injury on the Turkish marine or the Turkish

shores. The army was maintained on a full war footing, and the Sultan, fearing most from Russia, concentrated a large army at Schumla. It consisted in great measure of Janizaries drafted from garrison duty in every province of the empire. In one aspect, an obvious one, a false step. By this, the Sultan concentrated near his capital the very influence in the state which it was his interest to segregate and dissipate over the largest possible surface.

At this epoch, the Sultan advanced to high and influential posts men, who secretly loathed the recent military reforms, and had determined on the accomplishment of their reversal. These officials busied themselves in fanning and feeding the flame of discontent among the Janizaries, and succeeded in raising to an excessive height their jealousy of the new corps. This soon grew into open insurrection. The whole of the Nizam Djeddit were massacred. The rebels, intoxicated by success, overleaped every bound, and exceeded the intent of the instigators of the rebellion. They dethroned the Sultan, and elevated to the throne Mustapha, son of Sultan Abdul Hamid.

Sultan Mustapha IV. proved incapable and feeble. His functions were exercised by the oligarchy, whose conspiracy had resulted in his enthronement. His nominal rule did not long continue. Another conspiracy and court intrigue produced

his downfall, and the victorious party of Sultan Selim made Mahmoud, the brother of Mustapha, Sultan. Selim, who had been spared, but incarcerated, during Mustapha's reign, had been murdered in his cell by the officers of Mustapha on the outbreak of the tumult, of which the first outcry was his re-enthronement.

Mahmoud II. evinced the energy and the wisdom of Selim, and resolved to continue his policy. He inherited too the difficulties and obstructions which had obviated and counteracted the wise measures of Selim. Mahmoud's Vizier, and fellow-worker in military reform, fell a victim to popular rage, and was blown to atoms in his palace. The Janizaries surrounded the seraglio, and demanded the abdication of the Sultan. Mahmoud by a timely concession of their demands, and partial reversal of his previous policy, allayed the insurrection, and saved his throne and his life.

His imperial power secured, Sultan Mahmoud directed his attention to the maintenance of defensive hostilities against Russia. Russia was not able to bring her whole strength into the field. But what troops she could spare from her contest with Napoleon, were more than equal to meet the full force of the Turkish army. The Danube was crossed, and the Turkish territories occupied and ravaged to the Balkan—Schumla and Varna alone remaining in Ottoman possession. But

Russia could not pursue her successes, and the peace of Bucharest was arranged. By its terms the mutual frontier was advanced, in favour of Russia, from the Dniester to the Pruth, and the Danube, from its confluence with the Pruth, to the Black Sea.

Peace secured, Mahmoud gave himself to the re-assertion of the sovereignty of his government, which the calamities of recent years had tended considerably to decrease in distant provinces. Ibrahim Pasha, of Egypt, son of Mehemet, proceeded against the Wahabees, and re-conquered their regions for the Sultan.

The twenty years' interval occupied by the succession of great wars waged by the European powers against the French Republic, Consulate, and Empire, had—several considerable deductions being made—been a great and important benefit to the Turkish state. Had the extraordinary and unlooked-for catastrophe of the French Revolution not occurred, Turkey would, either at the very era of that Revolution or at some date intermediate between that period and the time at which we have now arrived, have finally and for ever fallen before the attacks and inroads of Russia. The great war in which all Christendom was engaged was the temporary salvation of the Turkish state. And had not, in some measure, that very war drawn Turkey into its embroilment, first, by the

invasion of Egypt by Napoleon, and secondly, by the enkindlement of hostilities on the part of the Porte against Russia and England by Napoleon's agent at Constantinople ; and had not insurrection and disorganization resulted from the attempts at military reform made by the Sultan who ruled during this period, Turkey would still further have benefited by the interval of the European wars. But for this counterbalance of disadvantage and weakening, she might have profited so much by so long an interval of peace and territorial inviolateness, as to have remedied in great measure what she had suffered at the hands of Russia, and enabled her, with a greater addition of strength and resources, to have maintained the renewed struggle for territorial integrity against the aggressive Muscovite, which she was, on the attainment by Christian Europe of a peace, again compelled to resume ; and which again becomes to the historic student the main characteristic of her history.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE French Revolution was not cancelled and undone, when in 1815, the white flag of the Bourbons was substituted for the tricolor of the Republic and Empire, on the palatial edifices of Versailles and the Louvre, when another Louis was placed on the throne vacated by the Corsican soldier, by Muscovite, German, and British bayonets. The influences of the French Revolution were deep, lasting, and efficient. They incited and re-awakened a world's hopes for freedom. They have become apparent, now and again, in European history, ever since that great revolution was effected.

The contagious influence of the assertion in France of freedom, supplemented the results of a long course of Russian intriguing and scheming, and awakened in the inmost hearts of the Greek people—a helot race in Greece, their once ancient heritage, in the Greek Isles, in the maritime cities which stud the shores of Anatolia and Syria, and in every part of the Ottoman empire—awakened in the hearts of this once noble race the design of the


re-assertion of a national existence, of the freedom of themselves from the Ottoman yoke.

To this consummation a long course of secret Russian policy had tended. The aim of Russia had been to cause the disaffection of the Greek race to their Moslem rulers.

The assertion of Greek freedom Russia did not conceal. That consummation, probable or conceived, antagonized her designs of aggrandizement and universal empire, as decidedly as the present case of Ottoman rule over Greek soil. But by the very nature of the case Russia could not limit the influences of her intriguing policy. The disaffection which she instigated availed to the conception by the Greek of the assertion of his own freedom, inasmuch as is availed to the conception by him of escape from Ottoman bondage.

The Emperor Alexander, who now ruled at St. Petersburg, was no very representative inheritor of the policy of Peter and Catherine; and even had he been so, that very policy would have prevented him from a hearty and explicit countenance of the Greeks in their now approaching position.

Symptoms of Greek revolution and insurgency first appeared in the Danubian Principalities, in which there existed a not inconsiderable Greek population. And Russian influence, although not emanating personally from the Emperor, had a great share in fomenting the revolution. Prince



Ipsilanti headed the movement. Its intention had been kept secret till an open insurrection appeared in 1821. Everywhere in the Principalities the Greek rose against the Turk. By the Turks instant reprisals were improvised, and from Constantinople, when the news of the insurrection arrived, measures were originated more than adequate to put down the revolt. The Patriarch of the Greek Church and the Russian Ambassador at the Porte equally disclaimed complicity, and counselled the Greeks to subjection and loyalty. The insurrection seemed quelled; and so it was on the Danube, where Greeks dwelt only as emigrants and aliens; but the news of the national rising had spread to Hellas itself. Athens and Corinth, Argos and Nauplia, were infected by the enthusiasm: along the shores of the Argolic and Corinthian gulfs it spread; it penetrated to the fastnesses of Thessaly, and in inmost Arcadia the old Hellenic spirit was revived. Every Greek isle caught up the fervour, and the Greek cities of Asia emulated in patriotism their European fatherland.

A Greek revolution was simultaneous and universal in every Turkish province in which Greeks abounded; and wherever insurrection appeared, Ottoman reprisals were savage and ruthless. Generic hatred of the race, and religious abhorrence of the creed, equally nerved the Moslem arm, which wielded the sabre of rule and ven-

geance ; and the magnitude of the insurrection dictated to the Moslem that the permanency of his rule could only be maintained by an unscrupulous and instant work of vengeance and extermination.

In Constantinople, the patriarch of the Greek Church was murdered and his body flung into the Bosphorus. Other bishops and clergy of the Church shared the fate of its head. In Smyrna, forty thousand Greeks were massacred ; in Cyprus and many of the Greek islands, the Greek population, whether openly insurgent or only by supposition sympathetic, met the same fate.

Meanwhile, in Greece the insurrection was systematic and organized ; well-equipped forces openly took the field ; mercantile vessels were turned into men of war ; and a formidable national fleet resulted. At Valtezza, Colocotroni, who commanded the Greek force, was victorious. At Tripolitza a larger Ottoman force sustained a more signal defeat. In 1822, the second year of the revolt, the council of Greek chiefs declared the independence of Greece, and prepared for the continuance of the contest. The whole Europe looked on with interest. Sympathy burned in the breast of every freeman, and classic enthusiasm fanned the flame. Every man who was indebted for mental culture to the teachings of Plato and Epictetus ; every student who had been entranced by the narratives of Herodotus

and Thucydides; every man who knew from Sophocles the wanderings and sorrows of Œdipus, or who had exultingly rejoiced with Æschylus at the rout of the Persæ, burned with generous sympathy for the cause of the Greek nation.

Russia recalled her ambassador; Ali Pasha of Janina, with his well-disciplined Albanians, co-operated with the Greeks against the Sultan, and materially aided their revolt.

The one event of the murder of the Greek patriarch at Constantinople had already done more than any other single circumstance in the struggle to awaken sympathy for the Greek, and elicit execration against the Turk. The savage massacre of the peaceful population of the island of Scio gave birth to a still deeper pity and elicited still warmer hatred.

Of the isles of Greece, one of the fairest and most fertile is that of old called Æthalia, but "to which Cleobulus gave the name Chios," from the fair nymph Chione, the daughter of Dædalion, beloved by Mercury and Apollo. Chios was of old famous for its wine:

*"Nec mihi fumoso veteris proferre Falernos
Consulis, aut Chio solvite vincla cado."*

In modern times the pacific citizens of Chios traded from its port, the chief article of merchandise being the wine which the same vines and the

same clime as in the days of Tibullus, still yield. The Chians had taken no part in the Greek struggle. They were not the less exempted from the massacre which befel the whole Greek population.

A large army was transported from the Asiatic main, and a numerous fleet prevented the escape of one Greek inhabitant. The Moslem army massacred every man capable of bearing arms, and forty thousand women and children were carried into slavery.

The students of the Chian University, the representatives of the best Greek families of every shore of the Levant and Ægean, shared the same fate, and were scattered over every province of the Turkish empire.

Such atrocities called aloud to heaven for vengeance. They at last compelled the national interference of the European states. Great Britain, France, and Russia, acknowledged the independence of Greece. In the Bay of Navarino their combined fleet under the English Admiral Codrington, destroyed that of the Turks, striking such an effective and decisive blow as to compel Sultan Mahmoud to sue for peace, and to acknowledge the independence of his rebel province. Greece was at last free. Its liberty, which by foreign intrigue and domestic treachery had been lost to her two thousand years before—the liberty

lost on the field of Chæronœa—that liberty which she had never regained from Macedonian, Roman, Crusading, or Venetian masters, which had been denied her so long by her proud Moslem conqueror, was at last obtained for her brave people by the timely interference of Christian states. A fitting historic compensation this—for that Christendom, the higher secular aspects of whose civilization are in such great measure to be traced to the culture of Grecian philosophy and poetry, to secure for the race which boasts the names of Æschylus and Demosthenes, that liberty which was their inspiration.

During the struggle with the Greeks, Sultan Mahmoud, who had arrived at the conviction that the very existence of the corps of Janizaries was incompatible with good government, with reform, and with the safety of the throne, and therefore had fixedly determined to effect their extermination, had assigned them a prominence in the contest which had necessitated a great diminution in their numbers—whole battalions had fallen in fights with the Greek. On the restoration of peace, Mahmoud resolved to consummate his policy, and at once get rid of the throne's so formidable rival. He obtained the concurrence and sanction of the Ulema or sacred college, and succeeded in gaining the co-operation of the high civil and military dignitaries. In 1826, his design

being ripe, and effective co-operation secured, the Sultan issued a Decree for the formation of a new army to be organized on the European model. The Janizaries at once rose, but Mahmoud was prepared. The sacred standard of the Prophet was unfurled. The Janizaries were denounced as enemies to the state, and all citizens enjoined to assist in their extermination. From every garrison on the Bosphorus, the Sultan's new artillery came with their new and formidable guns. A large force of citizens assembled fully armed. The Janizaries collected in the hippodrome, and resolved to hold it against the Sultan and his new troops—their hated rivals. They were formally solicited by the Sultan to lay down their arms and surrender their persons. Immediately on the refusal, an unsparing cannonade commenced. Cannon filled, on every side, every avenue of escape; hundreds fell at each simultaneous discharge. A small party cut their way into the adjacent barracks; these were fired, and all the refugees perished. The massacre ceased when there were no more Janizaries to destroy. In every town and city of the empire where there were detachments of Janizaries, the same fate fell upon every member of the corps. Before three months, there remained not in the Turkish empire one soldier of that body which had for centuries been its best defence and its most imminent danger.

This formidable obstacle to his policy of military and civil reform removed, Mahmūd prepared rigorously to carry that policy to completion; this course was resumed only to be interrupted by a more formidable and enduring hindrance.

The Czar Nicholas had recently succeeded at St. Petersburg, to the throne of the House of Wassilowitsch, and had been crowned Emperor of all the Russias. In him were fully revived the personal characteristics and the aggressive principles of foreign policy of Peter and of Catherine, which at once the character of the recently deceased Alexander and the external condition of European affairs, had kept in abeyance since the era of the French Revolution.

Nicholas resumed the projects of his great ancestors, and resolved to dedicate his reign to their realization. The Greek Revolution and the consequent contest had greatly weakened the Ottoman power, and the recent extermination of the Janizaries by the Sultan, seemed to Europe and to Nicholas, an act impolitic in the extreme, and in the crisis nationally suicidal. Nicholas resolved to make use of his double opportunity, and insolently, and without any apparent occasion, demanded of the Sultan a revision of the terms and spirit of the international treaties, and an examination into their exact import and its fulfilment.

Certain barbarous and singularly inopportune

proceedings of the Sultan against his Christian, and more particularly his Armenian subjects, unexpectedly favoured the cause of Nicholas, and lent a pretext of fairness to his demands. The Sultan resolved to resist. The genius of Paskiewitsch had just concluded for Nicholas a war with Persia, and left his arms and resources wholly free and unimpeded for the impending war with the Turk. In April, 1828, Nicholas reviewed an immense army at St. Petersburg, and solemnly dedicated it to the important service.

He resolved to act against Turkey on and from the Danube, in the Caucasus and province of Erzeroum: to Admiral Greig, a Scotch naval adventurer in his service, he entrusted the Sebastopol fleet, which was to co-operate with the European or Asiatic armament on either shore of the Euxine, as occasion required. To Paskiewitsch he assigned the command in Asia,—the scene contiguous to that of his recent triumphs against the Persians. Diebitsch was made commander of the army in Europe, and Nicholas himself accompanied it.

The force of Paskiewitsch in Asia numbered only thirty thousand, but these the veterans of the Persian War and the blind adorers of their leader. Their first success was their capture of Anapa, on the Euxine shore; Admiral Greig assisted in the capture. A main feature in this

war, both in the European and Asiatic campaigns, was the rapidity of the movement of the invading bodies, more especially the disregard evinced both by Diebitsch and Paskiewitsch, with respect to the leaving behind them untaken strong fortresses with formidable Turkish garrisons. Thus Paskiewitsch—Anapa being taken—pushed at once forward to Kars, leaving, forty miles in his rear, the border fortress of Akalzik garrisoned by a strong force. Other similar instances we shall see in the tactics of Diebitsch in the Dobrudscha and Bulgaria.

Kars soon fell, carried by assault, and the highway to Erzeroum, the capital of Eastern Asiatic Turkey, was left undefended. A garrison stationed in Kars, Paskiewitsch returned to the investment of Akalzik. The garrison resisted with a heroic bravery, frequently sallying and holding for a time the Turkish line. The women in the fortress aided in the defence, and with loud shrieks of rage joined the garrison in their furious attacks upon the Russians, their sabres drinking deeply of Muscovite blood. Paskiewitsch succeeded in firing the town. A mass of ruins and its garrison reduced to a fragment, it surrendered by capitulation.

In Europe the hostilities were conducted on a much more extensive scale; the army of Diebitsch being five times as great as that of Paskiewitsch.

The Capital towns of the Principalities were occupied without opposition, and the Danube crossed at Brahilow. With the tactic to which we have referred, Diebitsch marched into the Dobrudscha, leaving a force for the investment of Brahilow. His aim was first to possess all the Dobrudscha, that peninsular north-eastern corner of Bulgaria, of which the Danube forms the western and northern, the Euxine the eastern, and the wall of Trajan the southern boundaries. The Sultan wisely resolved not to extend too widely the circle of his defensive operations, and collected no great levies farther north than Schumla, the key to the passage of the Balkan. Each town in Bulgaria, of course, had its full complement as garrison. Schumla was fully defended, and by its side, a strongly entrenched camp, occupied by forty thousand of the best troops of the empire, doubled to Diebitsch the difficulty of his further progress. Diebitsch's tactics still the same, he left an army of observation, numbering thirty thousand, before Schumla, and made a rapid westward march to the less efficiently defended Varna. By October, the fleet of Greig returned from the capture of Anapa, and co-operating with the land besiegers, Varna surrendered after a creditable defence. A strong force had been left in investment of Silistria, but winter set in before success appeared probable. Diebitsch resolved to retire with his whole army

beyond the Danube, withdrawing the army of observation from before Schumla, and leaving only garrisons in the fortresses of the Dobrudscha, and in his important conquest, Varna.

The Russian army wintered in Wallachia. The Wallachians enjoyed a tentative taste of the pleasures and benefits of Muscovite protectorate. Their cereal crops were all taken possession of for forage and commissariat supplies, and the peasantry, and even women, were employed as beasts of burden, in conveying the products of their own peaceful labours to Russian depôts and barracks. The Sultan Mahmoud and the Czar Nicholas made equally strenuous preparations for the campaign of 1829. Schumla and its contiguous camp were strengthened, and their forces of occupation recruited. The Russian army was increased by seventy thousand. Early in January they commenced the passage of the Danube, all along the Bulgarian frontier. The main body crossed below Silistria; its siege was resumed, and a strong force pushed forward by hasty marches to Pravadi, a strong fortress between Schumla and Varna, and cutting off their mutual inter-communication. Greig, with his fleet, took Sizeboli, a fortress on the sea shore, on the south or Roumelian side of the Balkan. A garrison which occupied it, prepared to co-operate with the army which Diebitsch had resolved to lead across the mountain range. The

Turks, emboldened by their freedom from attack in Schumla marched forth to attack Roth with his army of occupation at Pravadi, with the further intent of raising the siege of Varna. Their movement was communicated to Diebitsch, himself engaged in the siege of Silistria with the cream of his forces. He marched hastily southward, taking up a position in the rear of the Turkish detached force, cutting off their retreat to their head quarters at Schumla. Being repulsed by Roth, at Pravadi, the Turkish force, ignorant of the presence of Diebitsch, were marching back to Schumla with no great precaution, when they were surrounded by the Russians in a mountain pass, their force dispersed, and many thousands taken or slain.

The Sultan never for a moment imagined that the Russians would attempt the passage of the Balkan, except after the capture of Schumla. His great aim, therefore, was to strengthen Schumla so thoroughly as to render its capture impracticable. But Diebitsch confided so much in the tactic to which we have twice referred, as to resolve to leave even so strong a place as Schumla untaken or even uninvested; and that too, after the rout which he had inflicted on a large portion of its garrison, and the favourable occasion which the unexpectedness of the blow furnished. Simulating, however, the commence-

ment of a regular siege, and thoroughly deceiving the army stationed at Schumla as to his intent, he prepared to cross the Balkan by the highway and pass leading from Pravadi to Aidos. Meanwhile, Silistria opened its gates, and the army which had taken it was opportunely left free to rejoin the main body at Pravadi. Diebitsch having collected every available man at Pravadi, withdrawing from his camp before Schumla all who could be spared in consistence with the maintenance of the deception, commenced his march. No fortified place intervened. There was no obstacle to be encountered but the natural difficulty of the transit. The news of his occupation of the city of Adrianople arrived at Constantinople on almost the same day as that of his commencement of the passage of the mountains, and each was equally unexpected and astounding. All Constantinople was in panic. The first impulse was a massacre of the Christian inhabitants; but their co-religionists and defenders were too near the gates to admit of this idea becoming a resolve. The Sultan, without delay, sued for peace. The Czar ordered a cessation of hostilities, and commenced the negotiations which resulted in the treaty of Adrianople. Diebitsch had well worked for the field marshal's bâton, which his Imperial master bestowed upon him. No less did Paskiewitsch merit the same reward, stopped in the

course of further conquest in Asia by the intelligence of the peace.

By the treaty of Adrianople, the islands at the mouth of the Danube became Russian. So did Anapa and a large tract of Georgia. The Black Sea and the Dardanelles were made open to Russian merchant vessels; five millions sterling were declared due to Russia by Turkey, and the Russian protectorate of the Principalities and the Czar's Christian subjects was reasserted.

The war terminated and the treaty concluded, Mahmoud immediately resumed those schemes for the advancement and civilization of his subjects which had occupied him in the previous pacific intervals of his reign. From these he was again diverted by a foreign danger, less imminent and formidable, but which it took far longer time to avert, than that constituted by the recent aggression of Russia.

Mehemet Ali, a clever and unscrupulous adventurer, the native of a small town of European Turkey, had chosen Egypt at the epoch of its invasion by Napoleon, as being the fairest field for the furtherance of his future fortunes. The "Napoleon of the East," he worked his way by a truly Napoleonic policy, and in course of time became Pasha of Egypt. Under his rule, Egypt externally and materially flourished, and he raised its army to the highest state of organization and

efficiency. It was his contingent of troops, commanded by his energetic son, Ibrahim, which had the principal share in the contest of the Greek Revolution. He discovered his power, and resolved to achieve by it a still higher and more independent position. He aimed at establishing himself as the independent Sultan of Egypt, and at entailing to his descendants the right there to reign. Syria too, he resolved to possess himself of. A supremacy in Arabia he already possessed, the result of his successes over the fanatical Wahabees.

In 1832, having contrived a quarrel with Abdallah, the Pasha of Acre, he immediately sent his son Ibrahim against him with an army of 50,000. The Sultan compelled his pashas to cease hostilities, and refer their quarrel to his decision. Mehemet heeded not the firman. The Sultan immediately dispatched an army against his rebellious vassal. Acre was taken, and the Sultan's army sustained a signal defeat. Ibrahim triumphantly entered Damascus; and, on the Orontes, routed a host led by the loyal Pasha of Aleppo. The Sultan, alarmed, equipped another army, giving the command to Husseyn, his second-best general. Near Antioch it was routed; Ibrahim becoming possessor of all its stores and ammunition. A third army, under the command of Redschid, the Grand Vizier, sixty thousand strong, was

defeated—but with great loss to the Egyptians—at Koniah. Thus, in one campaign, had Ibrahim possessed himself of all Palestine and Syria; Jerusalem, Acre, Damascus, Antioch, and Aleppo, all in his possession; and, by his last success, he had conquered far into Asia Minor. Three noble armies of the Sultan he had shattered; Constantinople was in terror—the distance from it to the position now occupied by Ibrahim being not so much as half that already travelled by him in his course of easy victory.

The Sultan, in his panic, and in this emergency, applied to his recent victor, Russia, for defence and succour. Nicholas clutched at the opportunity. The Sebastopol fleet was immediately in the Bosphorus; and, amid the cypresses of Scutari, glistened the white tents of a Russian camp.

France, which for ages has guided her foreign policy in Eastern matters, by a wisdom far superior to that evinced by England, had meanwhile interfered. Her diplomacy effected the settlement of Kutahyeh; all Syria was ceded to Mehemet, and an amnesty was granted to all concerned in the rebellion. Meanwhile, the Russian fleet and army remained at the gates of Constantinople. The Czar used his opportunity to conclude the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi. In similar circumstances to those in which his assistance had been craved, he

engaged to render similar aid, requiring, as an equivalent, the closing of the Dardanelles against the war vessels of every European power.

The Sultan could not but be dissatisfied with an arrangement which had confirmed to a rebellious viceroy the government of a rich province. He silently prepared another army in anticipation of the resumption of hostilities. Mehemet, however, took the initiative, by refusing to continue his tributary payment to the Porte. He arrogantly claimed the position and privileges of Caliph, or holy head of the Mohammedan faith, in virtue of his possession of the sacred cities of Mecca and Medina. A large army, under Redschid Pasha, took the field, and took up a position on the eastern side of the Euphrates. Ibrahim concentrated his force at Aleppo. At the same time a well-equipped fleet left Constantinople for the coast of Syria. It had not reached its destination before a pitched battle had been fought between the Turks and the Egyptians on the Euphrates. The Turks, again, were signally defeated, leaving sixteen thousand, killed, wounded, and captured, on the field. This calamity happened on the 24th of June (1839). On the 1st of July, Sultan Mahmoud, after a reign of thirty-one years, died. His rule was able and efficient. Every available interval of peace was devoted to the furtherance of those schemes of national amelioration which he inherited from

Selim III., and which were nearest to his own heart. In the foreign policy of his reign his task was difficult and arduous; but no past Sultan of his race—not Bajazet or Solyman—could better have breasted and resisted the concurrent tides of danger which, during Mahmoud's reign, broke against the barriers of his empire.

His eldest surviving son, Prince Abdul Medjid—a loveable lad of sixteen—ascended no enviable throne, and inherited a task demanding the experience and knowledge of far longer years; and this the more, that the famous school of Turkish statesmen no longer existed—that the era of the Kidprilis was long since gone. But Abdul proved himself fit for the emergency. At the inauguration of his reign, he himself accepted the responsibility of his government by an immediate change in the ministry.

To add to the enormous difficulties of his position, the Lord High Admiral, who lay with a formidable fleet at the mouth of the Darlanelles, proved a traitor, and sailing to Egypt, delivered up his trust to Mehemet. The Turkish fleet alienated, and an army annihilated, well might Mehemet occupy still higher ground than that taken up by him at previous stages. He demanded the independent and hereditary sovereignty of Egypt, Syria, and Crete. Abdul had almost acceded to his proposal, when negotiations towards an arrange-

ment were suddenly suspended by the active and decided interference of the five great European powers—Russia glad again at an opportunity of enrolment—France true to her wise, ancient policy—England at last awakened to liberal and enlightened views in the matter—Prussia and Austria prompted only by disinclination to isolation, and by the example of their powerful neighbours. The Five Powers offered to Mehemet the hereditary vassal sovereignty of Egypt, and the enjoyment by him, for life, of the Pashalic of Acre. They gave him ten days to accept or reject the proposal. He refused compliance, and the Five Powers prepared by arms to defend their ally. A fleet of seventeen vessels of war—four of them steam-ships—was put under the command of Commodore Charles Napier, a bluff Scottish sailor, one of a family which had served, and was serving the English state well. The fleet sailed for the coast of Syria. A bombardment and land siege soon gave Napier the keys of Beyrout. Ten days after, Napier, with a land-force of English, French, and Austrians, took Saida. Other successes followed; and, in three months, Acre alone remained untaken. On the 26th of October, Admiral Stopford and Commodore Napier gallantly carried it by storm. This success virtually terminated the campaign. Napier, already successful as a naval commander and a general, now under-

took the function of a diplomatist. He sailed to Alexandria, and concluded with the Pasha the general terms of a peace, which restored Syria to the rule of the Porte, and satisfactorily terminated a protracted and harassing contest.

CHAPTER XVII.

HAD it been the lot of Sultan Mahmoud—a lot which has rarely happened to Turkish Sultans—to rule in an epoch of peace over a people and a state unharassed by constant foreign aggression, and unimplicated in the general warlike embroilment of surrounding nations, he would have proved himself equally distinguished as a reformer, as he showed himself efficient in the conception and execution of schemes for the warlike defence of his dominions. Sultan Abdul Medjid inherited and evinced his father's twofold excellences. His first act was to grant the Magna Charta of Ottoman liberty. By the Imperial edict of Gulhaneh, he equalized taxation, bestowed upon his people an almost Habeas Corpus, and regulated the administration of justice. If this edict has not, in all its bearings and references, worked out the results which its letter indicates, the fault has not been that of the Sultan, or of the parent government, but of the rulers of provinces, pashas, cadis, mollahs, tax-gatherers, and farmers of the revenue. With them, as a

matter of necessity, have lain the chance of success and the responsibility of the carrying out the provisions of this edict, as well as of the recent subsequent legislation of which it was the general inauguration. Inefficient, however, as is the provincial delegated government which reigns supreme over the provinces and the independencies of Turkey, important as are the obstacles and impediments thereby constituted to the progress and realization of good government—if we measure and estimate Turkey by herself, if we compare Turkey of to-day with Turkey of a very recent period, we shall arrive at a literal verification of Lord Palmerston's striking statement in the English House of Commons, that in Turkey, for the last twenty years, there has been a greater advance than in any other country of Europe.

Abdul Medjid inherited and enjoyed, for a time, the peace and freedom from territorial attack which the energy of his father, and the ultimate intervention of the Christian States had procured. He went on silently, patiently, and effectively pursuing those schemes for the amelioration and benefit of his people which he had declared, on his accession, his determination to effect; maintaining a due reverence for national and religious precedent, but seeking wisely to engraft upon old institutions Frankish and modern reforms and adaptations; recurring to the old tolerant maxims

of the early heroes of his race ; opening to Christian—formerly helot—subjects, opportunities of advancement and honour in the civil and military service of the State ; removing trade restrictions ; encouraging the investment of foreign capital in native products and resources, and its employment of native labour ; opening to the light the rich and productive veins of national wealth, and furnishing facilities for their profitable employment.

Nor did he, in his sedulous care to attain domestic reform, ungenerously, or with scrupulous caution, shrink from overt acts which rendered him liable to the ill-will of formidable potentates. When the noble struggle for freedom of the Hungarians in 1848 failed, and its leaders were forced to cross the boundary of their native state and take refuge in Turkey, the Sultan chivalrously, and without hesitation or trembling, refused the demand of the Emperor and the Czar, and granted to Kossuth and his compatriots an inviolate asylum.

Abdul Medjid did not, by this act, bring down upon his people the retribution of Russia. Matters were not yet, to the mind of Nicholas, ripe for another aggression. The revolutionary spirit was yet fermenting, yet unallayed, in Europe. The Napoleon *coup d'état* had not yet succeeded the short rule of the Republic in France. The leaders of the Irish abortive rebellion had not yet

been seized in outhouses and kitchen-gardens. The succession to the Danish crown, the affairs of Schleswig Holstein, were not yet settled. Poland was yet enthusiastically sympathetic; or, if it had again begun to settle down into its long despair, it was in a state all the more dangerous. The students of German universities were yet singing, unhindered, their songs of freedom. Novara had not yet, for a time, extinguished the hopes of Italy. The French army had not yet garrisoned the city of the Cæsars and the Leos. Matters in Europe were not yet ripe for Nicholas venturing to stop the weak and waning pulse of the "sick man." The same circumstance that, in 1790, recalled the hordes of Catherine beyond the Pruth, prevented Nicholas from effecting what were, in 1849, his cherished and matured schemes.

Nicholas, foiled by European awakening and intervention in his designs towards the spoliation and seizure of Turkey in the earlier years of his reign, had relinquished these designs only with the hope and intention of their eventual resumption and success. Towards this consummation he failed not to avail himself of the advantages of his position as the possessor of the Crimea—

"That womb
Of nations, on whose life-devouring shore,
Far jutting into the black and boisterous deep.
Sebastopolis, key of empire, stands."

Dry docks, wet docks, bomb-proof vaults, arsenals, barracks, military stores, ships of war, were built, collected, launched, year by year. To the same object intentionally tended the fostered commercial greatness of Odessa, the complement of Sebastopol, the granary for the legions armed in the arsenal and the ships built in the harbour. With the same object in view were there maintained in Circassia and the Caucasus constant hostilities, and a consequent constant success and advancement of frontier.

Nicholas was possessed by the strong conviction that the Ottoman empire was a "sick man," inevitably and speedily approaching natural dissolution. He resolved to anticipate the approaching catastrophe; to obtain, and if necessary purchase, the connivance of the European powers, and by a bold stroke, to possess himself of Turkey and Constantinople. From Scandinavia, awed by his vicinage, perturbed about Lapland, mindful of the loss of Finland, and indifferent, from its distance and disconnexion with the scene of the projected rapine, he anticipated no opposition. The neutrality, perhaps tacit support, of Austria, Prussia, and all Germany, he could safely count upon. England he resolved to bribe to connivance by proposed complicity in the aggression, and participation in its gains. He explicitly proposed to England, probably in his visit to the English court in 1844,

certainly more recently to the English ambassador at St. Petersburg, that she should possess herself of Egypt, Crete, and perhaps Syria, as a balance to his seizure of Anatolia, Roumelia, and the Greek isles. The opposition of France he anticipated, but trusted to counterbalance, and if necessary, withstand it, by the aid and co-operation of England. The possibility of an alliance between France and England he justly considered as the only contingency which would prove seriously antagonistic to his designs. This he did not contemplate, or consider probable. To be doubly sure, he chose for the moment of the overt act a time when a slight misunderstanding and alienation, grounded on no one subject of specific quarrel, exaggerated and misrepresented by bellicose half-pay officers and alarmist journalists, seemed to him to preclude the possibility of the co-operation and alliance of France and England under any circumstances.

Russia is, as ratified by treaty and express agreement, the custodian, as representing Greek Christianity, of the Sepulchre and other Christian Holy Places in Jerusalem. France has had from time to time confirmed to her a similar pre-eminence as the custodian for the Latin Christians of the same Holy Places.

In April, 1853, Prince Menschikoff, Russian Ambassador at the Porte, made to the Sultan

explicit demands that a distinct pre-eminence to the Greeks, as under the protection of Russia, should be accorded at Jerusalem; that immediate repairs should, at the expense of the Turkish Government, be made upon the Holy Sepulchre; that the sanctity of its environs should be increased by the demolition and removal of contiguous harems; and lastly, that a new edict should be issued, increasing the privileges of Greek Christians in the Ottoman Empire. An immediate compliance was insisted on. The Porte replied, firmly declining the request so arrogantly made, but in a tone of conciliation, assuring the continued privileges of Christians dwelling in Turkey. The din of hammers waxed louder in the docks of Sebastopol. In Bessarabia, hosts of soldiers began to collect. It became apparent to Turkey and to Europe that the Czar was determined to force a quarrel upon the Porte. Menschikoff left Constantinople on the 22nd May. He had advanced in his demands, and insisted, on behalf of his Imperial master, for a protectorate of all the Sultan's Christian subjects. This demand the Sultan, too, at once rejected. He communicated to the principal states of Europe, parties with him to recent treaties, the demands preferred by Russia, and the rejection of them. France and England at once approved his course. They dispatched fleets to support the Sultan. By the

middle of June, they had taken up a position in the Dardanelles.

From St. Petersburg renewed requests for accession by the Sultan to the Czar's demands, were issued. Hostile measures were explicitly threatened. And the more so that Turkey had sought and obtained the interference of England and France. It was not long before a formidable Russian army crossed the Pruth, and entered Moldavia. Four of the allied fleet anchored off Constantinople. A levy from all parts of the empire was commenced. On the 27th of September the Porte declared war, and the army under the Commander-in-chief, Omar Pasha, prepared for immediate action. The whole English and French fleets came up to Constantinople. Omar Pasha, with seventy thousand men, held the right bank of the Danube, at the opposite shore of which the Russian army had by this time arrived.

In November, Omar Pasha crossed the Danube at Khalafat, Giurgevo, and Turtukai. On the 4th he gained the important and well-earned victory of Oltenitza.

A month later, the Russians, too, gained a success; but a victory which crowned them with far greater and more indelible shame than their not discreditable defeat on the Danube. In the Bay of Sinope, a squadron of large Russian ships of war, on the 30th of November, attacked a number

of Turkish vessels of far inferior size and armament. The Turks made a brave defence. But their vessels were soon shattered or driven on shore by the powerful fire of the Russian ships of the line. The victory of Sinope was celebrated in every Muscovite church and cathedral, and by a stage representation in St. Petersburg.

The fleets of England and France entered the Euxine. By this time diplomatic intercourse had ceased between Russia and the Western Powers. It was clearly evident that a general European war was unavoidable, except on the very improbable supposition of the entire withdrawal by Nicholas of his demands. And the Courts of London and Paris began to project measures for the rendering to Turkey of still more efficient aid than that constituted by the presence and protection of their fleet. In March, 1854, war against Russia and in defence of Turkey was officially declared by Queen Victoria and Louis Napoleon.

On the Danube defensive operations were vigorously maintained by the army of Omar. On the 6th of January the Russians sustained a signal defeat at the village of Citate.

Omar's position extended no farther eastward than Silistria. The Dobrudscha is that portion of Bulgaria enclosed by the Danube, the Black Sea, and the old Wall of Trajan. In March, the Russians crossed the river at three points, east-

ward of Omar's line of defence, and having overrun the Dobrudscha, invested the important town of Silistria, which commands the road to Schumla and the Balkan. Several battles and skirmishes were fought all along the mutual positions of Omar and Paskiewitsch—the hero of the Caucasian campaign, who had been appointed generalissimo of the Czar's army : battles of various importance, but all favourable to the Turks—a second fight at Oltenitza the only exception.

The whole event of the campaign evidently turned upon the success or failure of the siege of Silistria. The defence made by the Turkish garrison, with no foreign aid other than that of the brave and energetic English officers, Butler and Naismyth, was miraculous, yielding in the *éclat* which it shed upon the Ottoman arms to no other deed of their eventful history. The besieging army numbered eighty thousand. The garrison did not exceed twenty thousand. Prince Paskiewitsch offered honourable terms to the commandant, Moussa Pasha. They were at once rejected. A general assault was made on the 11th of May. Almost daily was the attack renewed—the whole strength of the besiegers each time engaged. On the last day of May a strong force sallied from the town, and having slain hundreds of the besiegers, and spiked many of their guns, returned with but slender loss. Paskiewitsch was dangerously

wounded. On the 13th of June, in another sortie, the siege works were completely demolished. On the 14th, a valuable and opportune reinforcement from Schumla arrived. Next day another sortie was made. The Russians were driven out of the trenches and from their guns, and were pressed into the waters of the Danube. The siege was raised, and the event of the frontier campaign decided.

The declaration of war by England and France was immediately followed up by the embarkment of strong land forces for Turkey, to assist the Sultan in the defence of his dominions. During the summer, division after division of English and French soldiers arrived in the waters before Constantinople, occupying Gallipoli, Scutari, and eventually Varna, as a support at once to the garrison holding Schumla, and the brave force defending Silistria. At Varna, the allied forces numbered forty thousand, detachments being left at Malta, Scutari, and also Athens, there having become apparent in Greece an obvious and overt sympathy with the Czar. The flower of the British army had been dispatched—all the Guards, three Highland regiments, the Black Watch, the Cameron and Sutherland Highlanders, illustrious in the Seven Years' and in the great French wars, the Welsh Fusiliers, the Connaught Rangers—and among the cavalry, the admired at Waterloo of

Napoleon, the Scots Greys, worthy brothers of their countrymen of the Highland regiments of the line. In the French contingent were represented all the arms of the service which had profited by the experience and inherited the glories of successive campaigns and victories in Algiers and the slopes of Atlas—*Tirailleurs*, *Chasseurs*, and *Zouaves*. Among many incapable and mediocre generals and superior officers, the old military glories of England were well represented by the names of Colin Campbell, De Lacy Evans, England, Eyre, Cathcart, and Brown.

The repulse at Silistria, and the presence of the allied army at Varna, made Nicholas determine on the evacuation of the Principalities. His army retired beyond the Pruth. The unlucky Moldavia and Wallachia were doomed only to a change of masters and occupants. The neutral power Austria, occupied with her army the Principalities.

All the while, the allied troops were lying inactive at Varna; a considerable French force being also at Adrianople. The necessity for their acting upon the Danube was, by the Russian evacuation and retreat, obviated. The allied commanders-in-chief had only to remain at Varna, awaiting from their governments further orders.

In the end of August the army received the welcome intelligence that their inglorious inaction was at end; that a bold offensive measure had

been resolved on. In a council of war held on the 26th, it was resolved to invade the Crimea, the centre and source of the greatness and formidableness of Southern Russia, the seat of the arsenal for her army, of the dockyard for her navy. State choice, or chance, had determined upon the selection of this remote nook, this segregated and sparsely peopled peninsula, as the arena of a quarrel which had already materially enlarged its foundation, which was no longer between Russia and Turkey with the Western powers as lookers on, but between the Czar single-handed and the two greatest military nations of the world, assuming and undertaking the cause, and quarrel of Turkey, accepting from her the while such co-operation as she could yield.

On the 4th of September, the allied force embarked at Varna. The fleet of transports and ships of war, which conveyed and escorted it numbered seven hundred vessels. By the 10th, the combined fleet was at anchor in Kalanita Bay, which laves the Crimean coast between Eupatoria and Sebastopol. On the 12th, Eupatoria, an ungarrisoned town, surrendered to a squadron of six frigates. On the morning of the 14th, the whole armament, thirty-five thousand British, and twenty-three thousand five hundred French, in the order of perfect arrangement, debarked at Old Fort, nearly midway between

the easily possessed Eupatoria and the almost impregnable Sebastopol.

The whole force landed, they marched inland, and then southward along the coast ; a small body of Turks to the right, nearest the coast ; on their left the French, then the British. Three rivulets had to be crossed before Sebastopol could be reached. On the rocky height beyond the Alma, the first of the rivulets, they found a strong army of Russians in an extended entrenched position ; a position so strong that Lord Raglan allowed three days for their dislodgement.

At half-past six on the morning of the 20th of September, the allied army commenced, by crossing the stream, a military operation yielding in boldness and daring to no historic field engagement. They soon "felt the enemy." Zouaves on the right, quickly scaled the grizzly rocks which were before them, alertly forming as they reached the summit. To the left, the line of English Guards marched up the slope in as perfect order as in any Hyde Park birthday-review. The stalwart sons of Caledonia nobly supported their movement. A dense mass of Russians appeared in close array as the British line reached the summit of the first of the natural terraces held by the Russians. Captain Dickson's guns, which had been, with great labour and by successive relays of horses, dragged up the heights, opportunely reached the summit, and

ploughed through the Russian phalanx furrows of slain. Cambridge's and Evans's divisions followed up the advantage, and in the moment of victory, gained another of the successive steps of the ascent. Similar successes had gained for the French on the right a corresponding position. The Russian front was held by the allies, and their flank turned. Menschikoff ordered a retreat, and the victory of the Alma was consummated.

The army bivouacked in the field; on the 23rd they marched onwards towards the Katcha River, the second which lay in their route. They crossed it unopposed, the soldiers plucking as they marched through its sweet and peaceful vale, the rich clusters of grapes which ripened in the autumn sun. The army now approached Sebastopol, but the allied commanders resolved not to march straight upon it, but deflecting inland along the course of the Belbek, the third of the three streams, to reach the sea at Balaklava, a considerable port and convenient head-quarters, a few miles to the south of Sebastopol. The sea blockade of Sebastopol was immediately commenced; and with all possible celerity, there were landed from the fleet at Balaklava and Kamiesch, the English and French siege trains.

Balaklava and Kamiesch established as the bases of operation, and the channels of communication with the sea, the allies retraced their steps inward

to the investment of Sebastopol, and to occupy a position against the Russian army in the field.

The trenches were immediately opened, and the active work of the siege commenced; frequent sorties adding excitement to the operations. On the 17th of October, a regular fire against the town was opened. All the while a strong Russian force was collecting to the rear and right of the allied position, in the line of the highway between Sebastopol and Simpheropol. Balaklava, held by Colin Campbell and the Highlanders, was threatened. He strengthened the defences, and received reinforcement. Liprandi, the Russian general who commanded in the field, had now fifty thousand men under him.

On the 25th October, a strong force advanced to Balaklava. With little difficulty they repulsed the Turkish force which first opposed them, and took their redoubts. The Highlanders, supported by the Guards, and the division of Sir George Cathcart were drawn up behind, flanked by two strong bodies of French and English cavalry; Lord Cardigan with the Light Brigade, was in advance; Scarlett, with the Heavies, in reserve. The 93rd Highlanders stood in the open plain; they supported the retreating Turks, who reformed at each flank of the Scotch. The Russians drew breath, formed a long line, and rushed upon the Highlanders. A volley of Minie musketry

retarded not their precipitate advance. Another fire within a hundred and fifty yards, broke their line: they retired. A splendid corps of gorgeously uniformed cavalry covered their retreat, and cantered on down the hill. Scarlett brought forward his Heavy Cavalry Brigade. The Greys and the Inniskillens galloped forward with mad yells. Five minutes decided the event of the charge. The Dragoons came out of the *melée* victorious; the Russians galloped back in disorder.

The Russians retired from their position, leaving detachments in the captured redoubts. They held the mouth and farther verge of the gorge and valley of Balaklava. Guns bristled from its summit. Lord Raglan ordered the Light Cavalry, if practicable, to storm this position and take the guns. At ten minutes past eleven, Lord Cardigan with his six hundred and seven sabres, quickly advanced towards the Russian position. His brigade was in two lines; they rode right up to the Russians thirty guns, which belched forth upon them, without intermission, death and destruction. The first line was already among the guns, sabreing the artillerymen who served them, when the second came up. But the full mistake of the manœuvre was already, but too late, apparent to the British officers. A retreat was sounded, the fragments of the noble regiments gathered together and galloped back, cutting through and

scattering like chaff a body of Russian infantry which had formed in their rear. They had advanced right into the centre of the Russian position, far in advance of their own lines. When returning, a squadron of Russian lancers was thrown upon their flank. Colonel Shewell with his Eighth Hussars; rode right at the lancers, while the remains of the brigade fought their way up from the "Vallëy of Death."

The siege progressed slowly, and without, as yet, any apparent chance of success; and the more so, that the few days since the fight, had been mainly occupied in strengthening against Liprandi, the position of the besiegers. The allied position stretched from Balaklava on the left, to Inkermann on the right. In the first four days of November, Liprandi's army was seen to concentrate at Inkermann, opposite the right of the allied position. The morning of the 5th was grey, wet, and gloomy. In the dark of early morn, a Russian force crept up the slopes from the Tchernaya, and the marsh through which it flows, towards the position held by the second English division. The newly risen soldiers were just struggling to light fires in the cold damp of the morning, when the alarm of an attack was spread through the camp. The outposts were beaten in, and the reverberations of the Russian guns awoke the echoes of the day. Pennefather

had his brigade at once under arms, and Cathcart and Brown came up to support him with every man they could spare from the trenches; the Duke of Cambridge followed with the Guards, and England's division formed the reserve.

It was the object of the Russians to pass round the cliff opposite Inkermann, and turn the British right. Their artillery service soon ceased, and the infantry climbed the cliffs through the brushwood in swarms. All along the English position the fight was hand to hand.

No brigade or divisional movements were possible. Each man, or each cluster, of men, for themselves, fought with bayonet or clubbed musket. At seven, Lord Raglan arrived from the central position. The main Russian body, in number forty thousand, were seen advancing across the plain below in open column and splendid order. Their guns were enormous, some of them of them drawn by ten horses. The Sebastopol batteries now opened, and the dark was illumined, and the dawn anticipated, by the lurid glare from Sebastopol fortifications and Liprandi's field-guns. In the thick of the fight the Guards came into action, and bursting through a Russian division, occupied a redoubt just relinquished by the shattered 55th. Thrice did the Russians attempt to regain it, thrice were they repulsed. Every available British regiment was now in action.

The Zouaves—a welcome sight—appeared on the crest of the hill behind them. Bosquet, too, with five thousand, opportunely deployed into the plain. It was now clear day, and the Russians had been beaten down the hill through the brushwood, under whose covert they had ascended, and the allies began to place themselves in regular formation. They charged in line and in concert, and beat the Russians down to the Tchernava. They retired precipitately, but in order. Five thousand British troops by holding Inkermann, had maintained intact and unabridged the allied position; they could not have continued to do so. The other English regiments which came into action and Bosquet's division turned a successful defence into a strenuous offensive operation, and procured for the allied army a glorious and most decisive victory.

The allies were confirmed in their position. The siege went on through the dreary winter, monotonous and destitute of interest.

Omar Pasha, in early spring, conveyed his gallant army, which had behaved so well on the Danube the year before, to Eupatoria. On the 17th of March, he repulsed a strong body of Russians, who tried to dislodge him.

On March 2nd, the Czar Nicholas, the personal and sole cause and instigator of the war against Turkey, died. His son, Alexander, announced

his determination to continue the policy of Nicholas. His death, therefore, did not increase the prospect of peace.

Early in April, Omar removed his force to Balaklava. The Turkish army had hitherto been represented in the Crimea with the allies, only by a levy hastily raised in the streets and neighbourhood of Constantinople. Omar's army—the conquerors of Citate and Silistria—were not unworthy to act in concert with the heroes of Alma and Inkermann. During the spring Omar did good service in holding Balaklava and Kamara, releasing thereby the Highlanders for the siege works, and by an occasional reconnoissance and skirmish with the Russian army in the field.

As spring advanced, the bombardment became more vigorous, and the garrison sallied perpetually. The continued loss of life was excessive. The kingdom of Sardinia had joined the alliance. In May the allies numbered—English, thirty thousand; French, one hundred and twenty thousand; Sardinians, fifteen thousand; Turks, thirty-five thousand; Egyptians, ten thousand. With so large a force, the allied generals considered that an army might be spared for an offensive expedition against some other place of importance in the Crimea, and yet a sufficient force be left to conduct the siege.

On the 2nd of May, a force fifteen thousand

strong, under General Sir George Brown, of French and English troops, sailed from Balaklava for Kertsch, an important place at the eastmost corner of the Crimea, the ancient Panticapæum, where Cæsar penned the despatch, "*Veni, vidi, vici.*" A difference of procedure having been resolved on by the commanders-in-chief, the armament was suddenly recalled. The project was, however, resumed. In the end of the month, Kertsch, and the contiguous town, Yenikale, were taken by Sir George Brown. Simultaneously an extended position on the Tchernaya was taken up by the army before Sebastopol.

The bombardment, which had for a time flagged, was vigorously recommenced on the 6th of June. On the evening of the 7th, the Mamelon, one of the most formidable of the exterior defences of the town, was carried by assault, and its seventy-three guns turned upon Sebastopol. The quarries intervening between the British trenches and the strong fortification of the Redan, were taken by the British. The six attempts made by the Russians to regain it, all which failed, proved their estimate of its importance. On the 18th—the anniversary of Waterloo—an unsuccessful attempt was made by British and French upon the Malakhoff and the Redan. The disappointment at the failure was mitigated and compensated by the knowledge that the expeditionary force which had commenced opera-

tions by the capture of Kertsch, was now master of the Sea of Azov, and all its shores.

The Turks and Sardinians, and the French and English cavalry, held, on the rear of the allied besiegers, the line of the river Tchernaya, occupying Tchorgoum, and other strong places on its farther side. On the 16th of August, before dawn, Gortschakoff attacked the allies with seventy thousand men. The main force of his assault was directed against the Sardinians, who held the bridge at Traktir. The Sardinians, taken by surprise, at first wavered; but a stubborn stand was made by the Zouaves. The French artillery was brought up, and the Russians retired. A second charge of the whole Russian line was made. But the Sardinian artillery had, by this time, "got the range to an inch," and the Russians again fell back. The Zouaves and the French infantry charged them, and drove them back, with prodigious loss, among the hills around Mackenzie's Farm.

During the summer, since the repulse of the 18th June, the allies had continued to lessen by patient zig-zag and sap, the distance between them and the Redan and Malakhoff. On the 5th September, an "infernal fire," to use the terms of Gortschakoff's despatch, was commenced upon the town, from the whole front of the besiegers. The French unmasked several new batteries. Amid

the roar and the smoke of the bombardment, they vigorously pushed forward the parallel connecting the heads of their saps against the Mamelon Vert and the Malakhoff. The English fire, from the Quarries Battery, made the Malakhoff earthworks fly about in clouds.

During the night of the 5th a conflagration appeared in the middle of the town, and a large two-decker in the harbour was seen to be on fire. The bombardment went on the whole night. On the 6th and 7th, it continued. On the morning of the 8th, preparations were made for a general assault. At half-past nine, all the regiments of the British second and light divisions were in the trenches opposite the Great Redan. The stormers and ladder-parties were told off. The first French division furnished the storming party for the Malakhoff, and the fifth for the Little Redan. At ten minutes past twelve, the signal for the assault on the Malakhoff was given. The French sap had been worked up to within a few paces of its embrasure. The Chasseurs and Zouaves leapt forward; they cleared the ditch, and scaled the sides of the work without ladders. Tier by tier they ascended, each successive earth-terrace defending them from the fire of the inner line of fortification—the Malakhoff mounting three rows of guns. They drove the Russians back, and held the place.

Meanwhile General Codrington gave the order for the storming of the Redan. The ladder-parties successfully passed the abbatiss, and planted their ladders on the salient angle. The stormers followed, under Colonel Windham, and fought their way into the Redan. The force on the left got in first. Crossing angularly to join the right, they came within the range of the Russian inner guns, and were shot down by the Russian supporting party, two thousand strong. This force came up and attacked the besiegers hand to hand. No support arrived, and the British few who held the work began to waver, undefended—as were the French in the Malakhoff—by any inner rampart, from the fire of the Russian artillery. They were forced to retire.

At the Malakhoff, the Russians became the besiegers. But the Imperial Guard opportunely strengthened the Chasseurs and Zouaves who had achieved the capture. The French steadily pressed the Russians down the slope into the town, taking at intervals batteries which commanded both the Malakhoff and Redan. They reached the dock-yard, and marched into the Karabelnaia suburb.

The Russians retreated from all the outposts which they still held, and having sprung mines and set fire to buildings all over the town, retired over the harbour by a bridge of boats to the

northern forts, leaving to the victors the "blood-stained ruins," of Sebastopol.

Since Austerlitz, Russia had sustained no blow so terrible as the fall of Sebastopol. Years of preparation were undone, long designs frustrated, the whole future of the East altered. Constantinople now might cease to tremble. Greek spies and conspirators all over the Turkish empire might now cease to intrigue and plot, their protector struck down in his stronghold—the very arsenal of his machinations and schemes held by the allies of the "sick man." Panslavism is now a dream. No fear now that Muscovite chains shall bind the world. No fear that Kremlin churches shall rear their spires on the shores of the *Ægean* and the *Levant*. No fear that Russian prelates shall perform mass in *St. Sophia* and the *Holy Sepulchre*. No danger now of Cossack soldiers being barracked and billeted in towns held by *Alexander of Macedon*, by *Sulla*, and *Augustus Cæsar*. Let Russia see to it now, that her own subjugated hordes and once free peoples are not impressed too by the hollowness of the imposture; that *Pole*, *Circassian*, and *Finlander* do not now with confidence set themselves to win back that freedom which she has shown herself capable no longer of filching or wresting from any other race.

The first use the allied army made of their

release from active siege operations, was an expedition against the Russian towns and strongholds at the mouth of the Dnieper. Little of the season available for military operations remained, and the expedition started without delay. On the 17th October, Kinburn was taken, after a short resistance by the garrison. It is held by a garrison of the allies. Should the war continue, it will, in the campaign of 1856, constitute a nucleus of further conquest in this region.

Russia had waged, almost since the beginning of the century, constant war with the tribes of the Caucasus, in the region between the Black and Caspian Seas. She had made this region her military school, the field in which were developed and exercised those qualities of her army displayed in putting down Polish revolutions, and in her successive wars with Turkey. On this frontier she had carried on, in the war with Turkey of 1828-9, important and successful hostilities. In the war of 1854-5, while Turkish troops had been conquering on the Danube, and the army of their allies in the Crimea, the Turks had been conducting a campaign all their own in the province of Erzeroum and Georgia, the scenes of their old contests with the Caramanians, and through which had marched their old expeditions against Persia.

The first hostilities took place in the end of

1853. A Turkish army was routed before Goomri in Georgia, subsequently before Kars, and was compelled to raise the siege of Akhalzik. In the summer of 1854, an expedition against the line of forts which Russia had built along the eastern coast of the Black Sea, was dispatched by the allies. Almost every fort was taken, and a communication was opened up with Schamyl, the prophet-king of the Circassians. The Turks took Kutais, and the loyal Mingrelians Souchem Kaleh. Schamyl had for many years conducted in Circassia a spirited warfare against Russia. He issued to his mountaineer-subjects a proclamation inviting them to a vigorous resumption of hostilities and frank co-operation with the allies. He so harassed the Russian army in Asia, at war with the Turks in the province of Erzeroum, and so effectually cut off their communication with Russia, as to compel them to depend for provisions and ammunition upon the sea transit of the Caspian. Despite these disadvantages, however, they continued their successes against the Turks. Under the inefficient Zaref Pasha, thirty-five thousand Turks were, in August, ignobly defeated by eighteen thousand Russians. In the same month, Schamyl with twenty-thousand Circassians, came down like a hurricane upon Tiflis, the Russian head-quarters, and carried away prisoners and stores.

During the winter, the Turkish army kept up communications with Schamyl, and strengthened their position at Kars. Schamyl harassed the Russians by constant guerilla warfare, and compelled them to evacuate Soujak-kale. Anapa was shortly after under the same compulsion, abandoned, and all Circassia and its shores surrendered to the Circassians. Prospects at Kars were not so bright. The Russians were increasing round it, and had commenced in June, 1855, to cut off its communications. But it was provisioned, and could hold out for three months. General Williams, the English commandant, sent to Constantinople for reinforcements. The force holding Bâtoum, on the coast, was menaced by another Russian army. Even at Trebizond a panic of Russian invasion seized the inhabitants. In July, General Mouravieff suddenly, and somewhat unaccountably, raised the half-formed siege of Kars, leaving only a small corps of observation. In the latter end of August he had returned, having undertaken an expedition into the mountains. Shortly after, Omar Pasha landed at Trebizond with his army, which had been unneeded and useless in the Crimea. In September, the siege of Kars began to be carried on more vigorously, and the garrison began to suffer from scarcity of provisions. Omar Pasha was at Bâtoum with fifteen thousand men, with certain indefinite

or undecided intentions of marching to the relief of the brave garrison of Kars. On the 29th September, Mouravieff assaulted. He had taken two of the Turkish batteries; but he was ultimately beat back into his lines with great loss, the Turks fighting with rare valour. The Russians lost four thousand killed. Mouravieff announced in his despatch that the blockade was "established on the same footing as before the attack." It was announced that Omar Pasha had gone into winter quarters. On the 26th November, the garrison of Kars, starved into the necessity, and despairing of succour, surrendered. A more noble defence than that maintained by the garrison of Kars, History does not record. It is the shame of the Porte and of the allies, that the defenders were compelled to maintain the struggle unaided, and this through a whole year. When these words are written, all is, in all probability, not yet made public that may tend to show the specific cause of the neglect, that may assign its responsibility and blame to special individuals, and thereby relieve the governments of Turkey, France, and England from the general and vague dishonour which in this matter yet attaches to all of them.

While this is written, a conference is about to be held in Paris, with a view to the settlement of peace. Envoys are on their way or about to start from St. Petersburg, Constantinople, Vienna,



KARS.

Turin, and London. And in Vienna and Constantinople, preliminary difficulties are by ministers and diplomatists being cleared away, and prerequisite arrangements being made: what is to be the event is yet uncertain. Whether future historians shall have to chronicle another Peace of Paris, or an abortive negotiation—whether the war is to continue for yet another campaign, is yet uncertain. Nor do probabilities seem to lean to either side. But the war is now lifted out of its original channel; it is enlarged into far different dimensions from those which measured it at the Holy Sepulchre, Menschikoff mission, and Sinope epoch. Accordingly, the further continuance of the war does not much more specially affect Turkey than any other of the contingents of the alliance.

If the war be concluded now, the integrity of the Turkish territory, her safety from future Russian aggression, the denial of the exclusive right of Russia to the protectorate of the Porte's Christian subjects, will be asserted and guaranteed by treaty—solemnly guaranteed by England, France, and Austria. If the war be continued for ten years, Turkey can gain no more. If the allies were to weaken Russia in each year of the warfare of a decade of years, as much as they diminished her power and influence in 1855, Turkey would gain no more benefit than will be

guaranteed to her, if peace be concluded now. In such a case there would only be so many more wasted provinces, depopulated valleys, and sacked towns betwixt her and the contracted Russian confines; her great antagonist would be only weakened so much the more. But this would be a superfluous warrant of safety. For no guarantee can prove stronger—even the obliteration of the Russian empire—than the plighted word of England and France.

The results to Turkey, to the East, and to the world, which will ultimately proceed from the war, from the trivial quarrel of the Holy Places, from the ambition of Nicholas, it is as yet impossible to estimate. That Turkey will derive immense benefit from the intervention of the Western Powers, from their intimate connexion with her, is undeniable. General Schranowski, who has served with the Turks, and who knows most of the military establishments of Europe, says that the Turks, if officered by foreigners, are second as soldiers only to the English. Their noble defence of Silistria and Kars maintains their old reputation as fighters behind intrenchments and walls. The Anglo-Turkish Contingent will no doubt verify Schranowski's statement, and form the nucleus and the model of a new national army.

The recent history of Turkey, of the last two reigns at least, has been the history of unsuccessful,

or only partially successful, attempts by wise rulers to bestow upon their subjects the blessings of good government. But pashas have dammed up and restrained the beneficent measures emanating from the capital. Firmans have been ignored, Fetvas neglected. The imperial power has not been strong enough to coërcé into sympathetic and obedient action its provincial representatives. Reform has not been contagious enough to infect pashas with the fervour and the energy of the Porte. The course of recent legislation and enactment has been wise in the extreme: there has been entirely lacking the power to enforce laws and changes. Western intervention will effect this. The Western Powers will see to it that the terms of the edict of Gulhaneh, and the general legislation subsequent to it, and yet to come, will be enforced and maintained in every province of the empire, among savage Koords, enervate Bagdad bazaar-keepers, and lawless Montenegrins. The constitution will be liberalized, generic and religious disqualifications for office softened down—in the end abolished. The Turk, the Greek, the Bulgarian, the Armenian, the Levantine nondescript, even the Arab, will all begin to be fused into one national mass, with common liberties and common rights, with equal interest in the public good.

Nor can it be doubted, will the Western Powers,

in the settlement of the affairs of Turkey, fail to direct a special portion of their attention to the removal of all trade restrictions, to the opening up of the myriad channels for profitable commercial intercourse, now choked up and impeded by misgovernment, apathy, public insecurity, and bad faith. In this matter, legislation and diplomacy can only remove difficulties and create facilities. But Western capital and Western enterprise will not fail to seize the opportunity furnished, and to provide the requisite instruments for the working and turning to account the natural resources of Turkey. Ere long, it cannot be doubted, a railway will connect Constantinople with the other capitals of Europe; and on the Danube worthy fleets will ride, bearing to Western ports the rich wheat crops of Wallachia and Bulgaria. Smyrna and Beyrout will increase in importance; and such towns as Salonica, Samsoun, and Durazzo will be elevated into a position of first-rate ports.

Under the happy auspices which begin to exist, with constant and increasing intercourse with the West; with ships in every port; with every crop and product—silks and cottons, corn, wine and oil, fruits of all sorts—yielded each in its appropriate clime; with a communication opened up by canals, deepened rivers, and railways; with public credit established and public confidence unshaken; and with all these blessings ratified to Bulgaria,

Roumelia, Anatolia, Georgia, Syria, and Algiers, by good government, equal laws and their righteous administration, it is impossible to foresee anything but a great and glorious future for Turkey. With the electric telegraph connecting London and Paris with Bagdad and Damascus; with railways tunnelling the Balkan and Mount Lebanon; with good government administered from the Divans, once occupied by savage and irresponsible pashas; with vines clothing the shores of the Lakes of the Holy Land; with the Principalities waving with wheat; with this general material prosperity reigning in the regions ruled by the Porte; with the increased intercourse, especially with Christian England, it is impossible not to associate a new era of moral greatness—a great moral revolution in the East.

Most noble compensation! most glorious prospect! The arts of peace, science, philosophy, and true religion, will be carried back by the Anglo-Saxon race, to the lands whence sprung the elements of their own greatness.

“For knowledge sublime from the West shall come,
As it came from the East of yore;
A child that brought pearls of great price from home
Returning to render back more.”

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